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The Week

MEMBERS of the American delegation to the London Conference are reported to be indignant because Mr. MacDonald, on the opening day, brought up the question of the war debts. They felt this was a breach of faith, inasmuch as they had supposed the debts were not to be discussed at London. Mr. MacDonald's action may have been tactless, but it had at least the merit of having common sense behind it. No international settlement of importance is possible until the debts are out of the way. Everyone knows that little more, if anything, will be paid on them and the only remaining issue is whether we shall cancel or Europe shall repudiate. President Roosevelt's whole attitude in regard to this question seems to us the least admirable part of his administrative policy, though the European debtors are also at fault in failing to serve notice bluntly and long ago that they will soon stop paying, when such is the obvious fact. Surely we have had enough years of public pretending that the impossible will take place, to realize that only harm can come from continuing to pursue that policy.

THE tax provisions in the Industrial Recovery Act are much better as they finally emerged than as they were drawn up in the House bill. That measure placed almost the whole burden on the middle and small income brackets. While such a device was better than the sales tax, and the burden on the incomes in question would have been no larger than in many other nations, it would have been inexpedient to tax this group so heavily while larger incomes had so many ways of escape. The New Republic argued that corporate profits should be taxed more heavily, and the Senate's provisions tend in this direction. The largest incomes in normal times are made up in great part from dividends. It was therefore wise to place a larger rate on dividends. The corporate-stock tax is another way of levying on profits. Taxes collected at the source are even more painless than such indirect taxes as those on sales. The Senate also did something to stop the leaks revealed in the Morgan investigation. When more time has been given for study, it will undoubtedly be possible to devise a better way to tax profits, and it is likely that our whole system of revenue will be revised in the next Congress.

THE French, in preparing to put an additional 15-percent duty on imports from the United States on account of the depreciation of the dollar, are acting on the basis of an economic delusion. Such protection against depreciated exchange might be logical if it were not for the fact that the depreciation of the exchange is accompanied by rising prices in the country in question. Of course if the exchange falls faster than internal prices rise, exporters from the depreciating country have an advantage, but in any case this is temporary. But if, while the dollar falls 15 percent, the price of American wheat, for instance, rises 15 percent, Frenchmen cannot buy our wheat any more cheaply than they could before. As a matter of fact, we doubt whether the fall of the dollar has stimulated our exports to any appreciable degree. Certainly in the cases of many important exported commodities, the prices have risen fully as rapidly as the dollar has fallen. And it is these prices only which count. There is no point in comparing the percentage of drop in the dollar with the rise of a general wholesale price index. The truth

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is that the fall of the dollar so far has been largely a matter of speculation and, in the end, internal prices may rise far more than the exchange falls.

THE honeymoon of the Hitler government is over, and dissension is cropping up in unexpected quarters. Particularly significant in this respect were the disorders in Munich that marked the Catholic Journeymen's Congress, a convention of Catholic societies which are dominated by the clergy and loosely but effectively allied with the Centrist party. Von Papen, who had been sent to the convention by Hitler, proceeded with his usual tactlessness, praising the Chancellor so fulsomely as to arouse the Centrist sympathizers to indignant protest. That the Bavarian Nazi government dared to dissolve a convention of about 30,000 delegates before Cardinal von Faulhaber was able to address it proves that the leadership of Dr. Brüning, far from promoting "coördination," means a struggle by the organized Catholics against National Socialist domination. But the Catholics are not the only dissenters. The allies of the Harzburg front and the German Nationalist People's party are waging an open fight against National Socialist methods and tactics. District conventions of the Hugenberg party are demanding equal rights and are protesting against Hitler's appointment of men with unsavory records as governors of the four most important states. The government has retaliated by suppressing several public meetings called by Nationalist subdivisions. The organization of the young Nationalists, affiliated with the Hugenberg party, has been dissolved. Open street fights between Steel Helmet and Storm Troop groups are a frequent occurrence. In one of these outbreaks seventeen members of the Steel Helmets and six Storm Troopers were seriously wounded. Among the members of the Storm Troops, there is a rising dissatisfaction over the "moderate" policies of the regime.

THE Homeowners' Loan Bill which finally passed both houses of Congress is, despite much bargaining and bickering, substantially what the President asked for and is probably the best that could be devised under existing circumstances. The proof lies in the fact that the bill satisfies fully neither mortgagee nor mortgagor. Of the two, the mortgagee undoubtedly gets the better share. It is entirely optional with him whether or not he accepts the terms offered by the Homeowners' Loan Corporation which the bill sets up. As long as a homeowner is able to make his payments the mortgagee can force him to continue, for he still has the power to foreclose in the event of default. If, however, the status of the mortgage is such that there is little or no chance of collecting interest or principal, then the mortgagee can exchange his mortgage for tax-exempt 4-percent bonds on which the government guarantees the interest. This should prove a real boon to many insurance companies, savings banks and building and loan associations that are holding non-paying mortgages on which foreclosure could not possibly bring a guaranteed 4-percent income. Of course these institutions would have liked the government to guarantee the principal as well, and their lobbyists fought valiantly on that point but lost out. The homeowner, on the other hand, will find relief in the proposed three-year moratorium and in the reduction in the interest rate from 6 percent—or more—to 5 percent.

WHILE the bill is a fair palliative for immediate ills, basically it is a headache tablet which relieves the headache but weakens the heart. At the end of the three-year period, after paying 4 percent on many of the mortgages that were granted a moratorium, the government will find itself in the real-estate business, for a number of those who will have availed themselves of the moratorium feature will be glad to surrender their property in preference to making up all back payments. The whole business is in essence yet another form of subsidy to holders of frozen assets. Incidentally and temporarily it will also help a number of homeowners. The broader effectiveness of the measure lies in the hope that it will help restore a measure of prosperity, but this is too much to expect of it. The most that can be hoped for is an avoidance, or at least a postponement, of more catastrophe.

WITH the passage of the railroad bill and the appointment of Interstate Commerce Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman as Railroad Coördinator, the railroad problem enters an interim stage. Neither Mr. Eastman nor the railroads under this act can do anywhere near all that is necessary, though some improvement can be made. Of course no great operating economies can be achieved so long as railroad employment is not reduced, and the railroad unions contended with much justice that to increase unemployment at this juncture is just what the country ought not to do. Mr. Eastman's main function will probably be, therefore, to acquire the information necessary for a more fundamental solution, and to be prepared with a plan when Congress meets again. Incidentally, it is interesting that the railroads themselves should have sanctioned the selection of Mr. Eastman for this post, since he has long been on record as an advocate of public ownership, and in many proceedings of the Commission has been less inclined to accept the railroad executives' point of view than most of the other commissioners. But the railroads could not help acknowledging his unequaled grasp of the problems of the industry, and his utter integrity. They could not agree on any one of their own number for this important post, and were glad to accept his appointment.

TWO of President Roosevelt's appointments during the past week which will provoke particular interest are those of Basil Manly to the Federal Power Commission, and Professor William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, to be Am-

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bassador to Germany. Mr. Manly has been known for many years as a friend of the public interest, in regard to such questions as come before the Federal Power Commission, and it goes without saying that he will support the present policy of the administration, which is in such violent contrast with that of the Hoover regime. As for Professor Dodd, his ability and personality are too widely known to require any underlining here. The chief interest in this selection therefore lies in the fact that it was made at all. The New Republic does not agree with those who feel that the Hitler regime is such a monstrous one that the United States should have refrained from appointing an ambassador, as an indirect way, so to speak, of breaking off relations with Germany. We have opposed this policy of making diplomatic recognition the equivalent of moral approval, when it has been exercised in the past toward Russia, and we see no reason to abandon the principle now. It is, moreover, obvious that a man like Professor Dodd can do a great deal to mitigate the horrors of life in Germany for some at least of those who are under the Nazis' ban.

IN THIS issue of The New Republic, Professor Harold Laski argues the case for giving college faculties a voice in the selection of new presidents for their institutions. It is a plea with which, we are confident, most of our readers will find themselves in agreement. At the same time, there are in America conditions which as Professor Laski well knows are even worse than those he describes in his article. The groups which choose new presidents for Harvard and Princeton are, after all, concerned for the reputation of those ancient seats of learning and desirous, within their native limitations, of choosing the best possible executives. But consider the case of colleges like those in New York City, which are supported by municipal funds and controlled by politicians for purely political purposes. One of these institutions is Hunter College, the largest college for women in the world and, with its metropolitan background and in view of the wealth of the city, capable of being of great importance. Hunter, like Harvard and Princeton, has just been selecting a new president. It is ruled by the New York City Board of Higher Education, and this Board, despite an occasional pretense of brave independence, grovels before the power of Tammany Hall. Tammany is allied with the Democratic boss of Brooklyn, John H. McCooey, a man whose only legitimate relation with higher education must be as a horrible example of what to avoid. Tammany also needs especially to keep on good terms with McCooey because a municipal election is impending. Ergo, the presidency of Hunter College goes to a protege of the Brooklyn boss, an amiable mediocrity against whom we know nothing except that his record in no way entitled him even to be considered for the place, and that distinguished educators were passed over in order to appoint him. While fully agreeing with everything that Professor Laski has said, we feel that compared with such a nauseous mess as New York City higher educational politics, the operations at Princeton and Harvard seem all sweetness and light.

ANOTHER institution controlled by the New York City Board of Higher Education is City College, now the seat of a controversy which is reported in our correspondence column this week. Since our student correspondent wrote his letter, the authorities have expelled twenty students in the course of the present witch-hunting expedition and it is possible that more will walk the plank. The editors of The New Republic neither know nor greatly care whether President Robinson ran across the street to wield his umbrella against the students, or found them blocking his path. What is far more important is the simple fact that any college president who descends to fisticuffs with his undergraduates has destroyed his usefulness as the preceptor of youth, once and for all. It matters not if he was the innocent victim of outrageous attack: a competent executive would have about him such an aura both of dignity and of serene authority that violence against him would be unthinkable even to the rowdiest young radical. The truth is that there is now a great gulf fixed between a large proportion of the City College undergraduates and that portion of the faculty which supports the president. The ultimate loyalty of the college as an institution is obviously to the dishonesty and shoddiness of Tammany Hall, and to the general conservatism, and the specific jingoistic militarism, which are part of the supposed popular *mores* of the Tammany Hall public. There can be no pretense, in such an institution, of devotion to pure truth, any more than there is in a university in Hitler's Germany. We are sorry for the institution, but we refuse to shed any tears for the youthful rebels who are now being treated so roughly by it. The chances are that their education will be far better and more complete than it would have been if their path had been smooth.

CYRUS H. K. CURTIS, the millionaire magazine and newspaper publisher who died last week, was associated so closely with two other men that it is impossible to discuss his life apart from them. These men were Edward Bok, who was for many years editor of The Ladies' Home Journal, and George Horace Lorimer, who has been for a third of a century, and still is, editor of The Saturday Evening Post. In the great days of the Curtis Publishing Company, which were roughly from the Spanish War to the time of America's participation in the Great War, these two magazines were amazingly successful in reflecting the characteristic spirit of American life in its dominant manifestations. They glorified the middle class, the small business man and his family, so skillfully that they assume a real importance in the life of their time—an importance which might have been far greater, however, if the magazines had chosen to criticize as well as

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to report, had looked upon the seamy side instead of practising an inveterate Pollyannaism. Since the War, they have lost much of their significance as age, wealth and conservatism affected the men dominant in the organization. Particularly in the last few years, these periodicals have sought to deal with national and international economic and financial questions which were all too clearly over the heads of both editors and contributors; and the result has been a painful series of demonstrations in favor of a type of isolationism and a sort of Americanized Fascism which has been embarrassing in the extreme to those who recall the adept journalism and friendly editorial policy of the days before the War.

RUMORS continue to come from Cuba that President Machado intends to get out, and that the proposal to choose a Vice President is a preliminary to this highly desirable development. The President himself, however, firmly denies that he has any such intention, and states that he intends to continue in office for the remainder of his term. Americans who are concerned for the welfare of the Cuban people have long been puzzled to know how Cuba is best to be served. Armed intervention by the United States, even to overthrow a dictator, would be just as dangerous as similar intervention in any other Latin American country, and for any other purpose. In the past, this country has been far from neutral, having covertly supported the Machado regime, particularly through harassing the revolutionists when they have attempted to operate from the United States. A group of Americans and of anti-Machado Cubans has recently organized in this country a "Joint Committee on Cuba," with an interesting program. It calls for "repeal of the Platt Amendment, which holds over Cuba the constant threat of American intervention; an embargo on shipments of arms and on further loans to the Cuban dictatorship; and an investigation by Congress of the present control of Cuba by American banking interests." This is a reasonable and moderate set of proposals, which any fair-minded American ought to be able to endorse.

THE Reconstruction Finance Corporation is making a loan of $50 million to China with which to buy American agricultural products, a development which reminds us of the good old Coolidge-Hoover days. Then, too, we loaned money to people abroad in order to enable them to buy our goods, and thus we kept up for some time the illusion that a creditor nation can continue to act like a debtor. One difference today is that China is a better credit risk than some of our former borrowers: difficult as are the conditions the Nanking government has faced and is facing, it has done surprisingly well in maintaining payments on its foreign obligations. Another difference is that dumping our surplus products abroad is no longer the sole recourse of our government, which is now preparing to get these surpluses under control. Under these circumstances, one can view with equanimity a transaction which in the old days would have been a doubtful one, merely noting with a start that momentarily the New Deal looks strikingly like the famous vanished Plateau of Prosperity.

London: Barking up the Wrong Tree

THIS WEEK The New Republic prints an article by one of the most original and discerning of the British economists—though one who is far from being recognized by the academic schools—setting forth the thesis that the London Conference could not bring about recovery merely by removing the tariffs, trade barriers and monetary dislocations that have seemed to result from the War. While there may be disagreements with Mr. J. A. Hobson's well known thesis that the chief trouble with the operation of the capitalist economic machine arises from spasmodic overinvestment, which in turn springs from inequality in the distribution of income, a little thought must convince anyone that there is a far more fundamental maladjustment than the presence of trade restrictions, and that these restrictions, as Mr. Hobson says, probably result from the other difficulties fully as much as they cause them.

Another approach to the same conclusion has been given a good deal of publicity lately in Mr. Raymond Moley's utterances about the problem of the London Conference. He sees, we believe truly, that it is easy to overestimate what the Conference can do in the way of removing trade restrictions. He points out that many of the causes of depression lie within the various national boundaries rather than in the international situation itself, and argues that if the several nations can be brought to act in harmony with regard to their internal policies, much good may result. His policy has been called "intranationalism" as opposed to internationalism on the one hand and exclusive nationalism on the other.

Certainly it is a delusion to think that prosperity is to be gained or lost merely by virtue of the kind of policy the nations pursue with regard to trade with one another. This delusion is shared equally by the two opposed schools, one of which concentrates its energies on obtaining as nearly free trade as possible, and the other of which believes salvation lies in building an unscalable wall about internal commerce. If we had to choose between the two, we should choose the former, but the quarrel is really in large part irrelevant. To say that the cause of the depression is international—and to mean by that statement that if it had not been for the wickedness and stupidity of foreigners, the speaker's own nation would not have suffered—is a favorite excuse of statesmen for domestic inaction. It was used to the full by President Hoover.

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But you can chase that "international" cause of depression about from nation to nation and not find it anywhere, for each country's politicians place it outside their own borders.

Of course it is silly to try to operate a continental economy like that of Europe's, in which no one nation has anything like the quota of natural resources or equipment to be self-sufficient, as if each political unit could be economically independent of the others. In this sense the trade barriers, the exchange restrictions, the monetary confusion, are an anachronism. But suppose all these stupidities could be erased. Suppose anybody in any country in Europe could trade as much and as freely as he liked with anybody else in Europe. Would Europe then escape difficulties? Add South America, Asia and Canada for good measure. Would mere "freedom" bring permanent prosperity? Of course not; the capitalist world would still have an economy full of confusion and disproportion.

As The New Republic has pointed out many times in the past, the United States is, within its borders, an immense free-trade area—outside of Russia the largest in the world, and in point of developed resources and skilled personnel the greatest without exception. It contains enormous resources and, on the average, depends on foreign trade to the extent of less than 10 percent of its activity. Before 1929 this large internal free market was frequently cited as a cause of our unequaled prosperity. But can it be successfully maintained that because New York can freely trade with Illinois, Iowa, California or Georgia, and because the medium of exchange is identical in all these places, prosperity is assured as far as our internal operations are concerned? Should we have continued to prosper if only the rest of the world had been left free to buy from and sell to us?

It is true not only that freedom of trade has been progressively hampered among the nations, but that it has not served as an insurance of welfare even in the largest areas where it has existed. Undoubtedly the United States would have been even worse off than it is if New England, the Central states, the South and the other regions had imposed protective tariffs against one another and had used different currencies with varying values. But the fact that we have providentially been spared these additional burdens does not mean that we have escaped the evil effects of uneven balances of payment among the several regions, of lack of balance between investment and savings, of misuse of credit, of inequality of purchasing power, of mistaken calculations as to future demand for various goods, of cutthroat competition and uncurbed private monopoly, of all the senseless confusion inherent in a modern economy not operated according to social plan. We have indeed suffered from foreign dislocations which have impinged upon our agriculture, our export industries, our money market. But it is also true that dislocations arising within the United States have been even more damaging to the rest of the world—as well as to ourselves—than any injury we have suffered from the outside.

The London Conference would not have succeeded if it had lived up to the most extreme hopes of the optimists in facilitating international trade. It will not, of course, even approach that goal. The reason it cannot remove trade barriers is that the fundamental conditions which give rise to the barriers have not been dealt with. Any nation which had its internal economy in good order, and was operating that economy with a view to producing the highest possible standard of life for its whole population, would be only too glad to trade what it could produce to the greatest advantage for what other nations could produce better. Protective tariffs would be silly. But a nation whose economy is run in the interest of private profit-makers cannot be a coöperative part of a world economy. The London Conference is barking up the wrong tree, and even Mr. Moley's gentle admonitions will probably not show it where the quarry is hiding.

Hitler's Anti-Russian Plot

THE MOST dangerous and significant aspect of Mussolini's Four Power Pact, now finally initialed at Rome, has gone virtually unnoticed by the press. This aspect is that the Hitler regime in Germany, beyond any doubt, is scheming to transform the Four Power Pact into a capitalist coalition directed against Soviet Russia.

Let us consider the facts which have so far been publicly revealed. The Four Power "Peace Club," as it was named by Mussolini, was first proposed on March 19. Europe was then in the worst period of jitters it has experienced since the World War, and Mussolini's immediate concern was to forestall a possible attack upon Germany by France, Poland and the Little Entente. The principal objective of the "Peace Club," however, was to obtain revision of the European boundaries fixed by the Versailles Treaty. The pact was warmly received by Mr. MacDonald on behalf of England. France preserved a dour silence.

During the ensuing three weeks, relations between Germany and Poland grew steadily more embittered. An unending stream of official notes of protest and counter-protest shuttled to and fro between Berlin and Warsaw. Border-raid scares occurred almost nightly.

It is necessary to recall here that shortly before this, early in March, the Soviet government had arrested six engineers of the Metro-Vickers Company, accused of spying and sabotage. It had been announced in the House of Commons that England proposed to "take a strong line" towards Russia, and late in March the British Ambassador was recalled from Moscow. Therefore, during the same period that the German and Polish tension was mounting to the explosion point, a lesser but still serious one was growing between England and Russia.

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The trial of the Metro-Vickers engineers was announced by Russia for April 12. Two days before the trial, Captain Hermann Wilhelm Göring —whose study walls are reported to be lined with alternate photographs of himself and Mussolini— was hastily summoned to Rome It was proclaimed that Captain Göring would consult with Mussolini on how outstanding difficulties between Germany and Poland best could be adjusted. In Moscow, on April 19, two Metro-Vickers engineers were sentenced to imprisonment, and on the same afternoon, England took the inexplicably violent step of placing an embargo on Russian imports.

The Hitler government was now ready for decisive action. On May 3, Hitler held a long conversation with the Polish Minister at Berlin, Dr. Wysocki, in which, according to later assertions, he proposed an invasion of Russia, following which there was to be an all-round revision of boundaries. Specifically, Poland would cede to Germany portions of the Corridor, and would be "compensated" by territory in the Russian Ukraine in the direction of the Black Sea. On the same day, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's Esthonian-born adviser of foreign affairs, was dispatched to England, where he set up temporary headquarters at "Buckhurst," the estate of Sir Henri Deterding, chairman of the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company and for years the world's noisiest advocate of a capitalist crusade against the Soviets.

The news that Hitler was proposing an invasion of Russia spread rapidly. The report was first published by M. Jules Sauerwein, distinguished French journalist and long the confidant of Briand. His account was promptly confirmed by the Polish government. The Poles, however, insisted they had refused to listen to Hitler. What Dr. Rosenberg and his coadjutator, Sir Henri Deterding, said to the British Foreign Office is as yet unrevealed. It seems certain, however, that the British, although thoroughly hostile to Russia, gave Dr. Rosenberg little encouragement.

These are the known facts. One conclusion which appears inescapable is that Mussolini was fully informed of Hitler's designs against Russia, and approved them. Hitler's plans were at least partially based on the knowledge that a break between Russia and England was impending over the Metro-Vickers trial and, as we have seen, it was at precisely this period that Captain Göring and Mussolini had their principal conversations. Undoubtedly Italy would make substantial diplomatic gains from an anti-Russian war, even if Italy did no fighting. One of Mussolini's chief objectives is to bring about revision of the frontiers of Hungary—Italy's client. If Russia could be compelled to confirm Rumania in its possession of Bessarabia, Rumania could probably be induced to cede back to Hungary a part of Transylvania. With an enlarged and powerful Hungary set up astride the Danube, Italian influence would be unassailable from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.

Why did England and France fail to respond to Hitler's suggestions for an anti-Russian coalition? Apparently the British and French officials were uncertain whether they could trust Hitler. On the excuse of a projected Russian war, Germany might rearm, and then promptly turn its armaments against France and Poland. Then, too, the British and French realized—as Hitler, in his incredible naïveté, evidently did not—that wars cannot be made overnight. There must be a series of "incidents," like the Metro-Vickers affair, for example, and a period of propaganda about Russia's wickedness and aggressiveness, before the people of a modern state can be shepherded to war.

However, while Hitler remains in power in Germany, the possibility of a capitalist alliance against Russia cannot intelligently be ignored. The Nazis are convinced that, as long as Europe remains at peace, there can be no chance of carrying out the Nazi foreign policies, and no hope of rectifying Germany's "bleeding frontiers." A war against France and its allies would be extremely dangerous, and might well result in Germany's defeat. The only other possibility is a war against internationally friendless Soviet Russia. The Italians believe that such a war could be made to serve Italy's interests. While Hitler, in the present instance, was rebuffed by England and France, it is necessary to remember that in England the die-hard Tories—the same group which forced the break with Russia over the Metro-Vickers episode—have long felt an eventual war between the rival systems of capitalism and communism to be inevitable. And their French counterparts, among the French heavy steel interests and Right political groups, have, during the last year and a half, openly supported Japan as a future ally against Russia.

All this gives an ominous significance to current predictions from Paris that, by next autumn, a Cabinet of the Right will be in power in France, and will find it easy to come to an understanding with Hitler. With a Right government in France, a Right government in England and Hitler in Germany, the possibility of a capitalist war against Soviet Russia will be nearer than at any time in the last decade.

Forgotten—and Scrapped

LAST WEEK the National Committee on the Care of the Transient and the Homeless announced the results of its second attempt to count the homeless population of America, conducted by Mr. Nels Anderson. The census, based on a one-day count involving the coöperation of 3,000 local agencies, plus such national agencies as the Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A., Travelers' Aid Society, Y.W.C.A., National Urban League, Family Welfare Association, Association of Community Chests and Councils, and the Bureau for Jewish Social Research, is admittedly incomplete. Returns were

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received from 765 cities in 48 states; but 2,350 cities of 2,500 population were not heard from, and no attempt was made to come into contact directly with the public officials in the several thousand smaller towns of the nation. Using these incomplete returns as a basis, Mr. Anderson estimates that on March 22 last there were probably more than a million and a quarter homeless men, women and children on the breadlines and highways of America.

We have heard about the children before. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has estimated that there are about 200,000 boys on the loose, and other estimates have reached the 500,000 mark.

Mr. Anderson is inclined to discount these figures. The actual number of wandering boys, he thinks, is probably closer to 125,000. The real problem is not boys, but aging men, workmen over forty-five. There are about 400,000 of these. Industry discarded them before and during the depression. They left their homes, many of them not merely to seek work, but because the scant relief their women and children were getting would go farther with one less mouth to feed. On the road the children again get all the breaks. The boys can thumb rides when the older men can't. The boys get back-door handouts from sympathetic housewives. They are on the preferred list of the relief agencies, for the very practical reason that the appeal "Save the Children" will still raise money, whereas nobody appears to care very much about the older men. They are shunted from town to town, facing the constant threat of the vagrancy laws and knowing, from bitter experience, that relief agencies, with the possible exception of the Salvation Army, will make every effort to avoid helping them. Unemployed at first, they become progressively unemployable.

This is the present condition of an important section of the working population of America. Their future is blacker still. As the labor market improves, the boys will get work—unless they have found the road too attractive. The older men won't. Experts on employment and technological conditions have been looking into the probable number of those now out of work who are faced with the likelihood of remaining not only unemployed but unemployable, and they have arrived at some staggering figures. Even during the depression, the advance of techniques has been so amazing that competent authorities believe we may have as many as 8 million men still without jobs after we have gone back to the production levels of 1929. If we don't get back to them, of course, the number of workless men will be still greater. These 400,000 wandering men of forty-five and over will be part of that load, and unquestionably the most hopeless part.

In no state in the union is there as yet a program for keeping the discards of our diminishing labor market alive, let alone utilizing them. They are transients for the most part, hence not eligible for pensions. The poorhouses are overcrowded. Private agencies, for the reasons already indicated, will not face the problem, although until they do face it, it will be difficult to organize sentiment for a public program in behalf of these aging and poverty-stricken migrants.

Two other significant findings stand out in the census report. For the first time in American history we have a substantial number of homeless women. The census reported 9,926—or about 5 percent of the non-family homeless. But Mr. Anderson points out that most agencies have no facilities for sheltering women, hence the count was very incomplete. He estimates that in New York City alone there are at least 10,000 homeless, destitute, unemployed women. The total number is probably in the neighborhood of 150,000, and of this number about 30 percent are transients: bus travelers and hitch-hikers for the most part. Although relatively few and only recently forced into the homeless existence, the women seem to be largely confined to the lower age brackets. This is shown by the returns for the Salvation Army. The Army sheltered for the day of the census 1,569 women in 40 states. Of this number 895, or 57 percent, were transients, and 402, or 25.6 percent, were under twenty-one years of age.

Even more striking is the increase in the number of transient families. The census reported 3,155, but since there was no census of the population of jungles and roadside camps, the actual number is far greater. There were 8,252 children in those families, 5,544 under fifteen years of age. These families are for the most part the "gasoline gypsies" of the West and Southwest. They gather the crops—when the crops are worth gathering. Their numbers have been progressively reënforced by dispossessed and derelict families from the cities. In every essential respect, as Mr. Anderson points out, the phenomenon is beginning to resemble that of the old-world beggar family of the Middle Ages. Here again, is a problem hitherto undreamed of in the philosophy of social work, or of American politics.

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Forethoughts about the Conference

IF THE coming Economic Conference seeks to do something more than provide palliatives and alleviations of the world's industrial and financial troubles, it must recognize that, though post-war fears and follies have been grave aggravations, the disease lies deeper in the failure of an economic system to produce either the goods which constitute its social purpose or the profits which are the motives of its directors.

The following is an attempt to set out in a series of consecutive propositions a diagnosis of the depression and a few brief comments upon the remedial treatment which the acceptance of the diagnosis would approve.

1. Large quantities of productive resources, good enough for utilization a few years ago, are lying idle in nearly all the major industries in nearly all countries.

2. This idleness means that the goods they could produce are not being produced because they could not be marketed at a price that would cover costs of production and leave a margin of profit.

3. Recent technological improvements, making it possible to turn out an increased product per unit of equipment, should enable business to increase the real income paid to each factor of production.

4. If the distribution of the potentially larger product between the owners of the different factors in production were unchanged, the real income of each owner would be larger and the present unemployment would be impossible.

5. We must therefore look to changes in distribution unfavorable to some factor of production for our explanation of the depression.

6. Dislocations due to post-war disturbances, industrial, commercial, monetary, though involving much waste, are not an adequate explanation of the general stoppage.

7. Trading obstructions, tariffs, embargoes, etc., are to be regarded primarily as results of an insufficiency of markets rather than as causes.

8. Had the Great War with its post-war economic troubles not taken place, the problem of an excessive productivity would none the less have emerged.

9. This actual and potential excess of productive resources indicates a disequilibrium between the amount of productive energy devoted to making capital goods and that devoted to making consumption goods, an excessive proportion being given to the former.

10. This excess of saving is a natural result of a distribution of income so unequal that a rich class receiving an income in excess of its high requirements of expenditure allows the surplus to pass automatically into business reserve and bank deposits.

11. This surplus of savings bears no natural or rational relation to the amount of the real capital required for the enlargement and improvement of the business structure so as to meet the increasing needs of growing populations with purchasing power.

12. For the surplus which goes into oversaving, as it is irrational in origin (consisting of rents, monopoly or quasi-monopoly prices and other products of economic force and chance), so it is irrational in its disposal.

13. For though the flow of each man's savings tends to pass into uses which offer the highest return in interest, the supply of savings as a whole is not appreciably affected by the rate of interest, *i. e.*, a rise in rates of interest would not cause a rise in saving. The supply of savings is directly governed by the profitability of industry, the surplus revenue of the well-to-do.

14. This irrationality of distribution of income, alike in origin and use, explains the chronic tendency towards oversaving in the capitalist system.

15. This oversaving has two phases. The first is that of overinvestment and overproduction of plant and other capital goods, and the attempt to operate this excessive plant with the assistance of bank loans for running expenses in the shape of wages and purchases of materials.

16. This phase of overinvestment may continue undetected for some time. For there exists no pooled intelligence able to forecast the future of the several or total markets upon which the utility and earning power of the new capital depend. The capitalist system is not a rational system.

17. When experience shows that an excessive capital equipment has been provided, so that the aggregate output, not in a few but in most industries, cannot be marketed at a profit, investment stops and the second phase ensues.

18. This phase exhibits a rate of saving which falls with the decline of business profits but is still in excess of business requirements. It is the phase of idle money waiting in bank deposits for recovery and investment at some future time.

19. Here we reach the unemployment problem, idle plant, idle labor, idle savings, idle bank resources.

20. If this is the natural result of an irrational and unequal distribution of incomes, we may ask ourselves why this depression is so much deeper, wider and more prolonged than previous ones.

21. The explanation lies in the greater rapidity with which technological and other improvements have been applied to larger areas of the economic system. Statistics indicate a pace of technological advance since the War, in the United States, Ger-

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many and elsewhere, which greatly enlarged the output, not only of manufactures, but of foods and raw materials, with a considerable reduction of employed labor.

22. This advance, due to more and better capital, placed a larger proportion of the income yielded by the selling prices in the possession of the owners of capital, a smaller in the possession of workers. This statement is consistent with a rise in money and real wages of the smaller numbers employed in advanced industries.

23. If the competitive system had remained in full swing the labor "saved" in the machine processes might have been absorbed in the enlarged demand for standard goods within the nation or abroad, or else might have passed into new industries in the producing country for the satisfaction of new needs, or it could have flowed into overseas areas by immigration for the development of new markets for our wares.

24. This was in substance what happened in our capitalist industries during the first three-quarters of last century. A rising standard of living for all classes in England and an illimitable overseas market for British surplus goods, though not preventing serious cyclical depression from taking place, furnished means of alleviation and recovery.

25. Just as any single person may save, invest and utilize for further production any proportion of his income that he may choose, so may any group or nation, provided that other peoples are willing and able to borrow and utilize those savings in the shape of export goods.

26. But the amount of effective saving for the economic system as a whole under the present technology of the capitalist system is limited by the amount of effective demand in the hands of would-be consumers. While the population of this or any other country might save and invest one-quarter of its whole income (given freedom of importation into other countries), the population of the capitalist world as a whole might be unable to save and invest more than one-eighth. If this were so, the attempt of each country to save and invest one-quarter would inevitably bring about such a depression as we are undergoing.

Assuming this diagnosis to be correct, what remedies could be applied?

If big manufacturers, importers and financiers in the several capitalist countries could organize international cartels with adequate financial coöperation for the exploitation of the resources and markets of China, India, Russia and other backward areas (with mandatory powers for pacific government), the economic development of those countries with a rising standard of living for their inhabitants might keep the present Western capitalism going for another generation. Failing any adequate relief from such a source, recovery can only come by a combined policy of debt relief (public and private), with higher taxation upon estates, surplus profits, rents, public operation of or control over essential industries and services, and expenditure of this enlarged public revenue upon the public utilities and amenities that constitute a substantial movement towards equality of real incomes.

Every Western nation is being driven slowly and unwillingly along this road. If its rulers, business men and economists recognized more clearly that the two remedies here indicated were the sole alternatives to a revolutionary communism, they might put some conscious order into their groping policies. They would realize that the supreme test for all proposals was expanding markets for commodities. The salvation which many seek through inflation, national or international, is only attainable in proportion as the new money passes without delay into consumers' purses, thus energizing the entire productive system by increased demand. It is good just so far as it increases the proportion of the enlarged total expenditure which passes directly into the demand for consumption goods.

But this inflation cannot be withdrawn, as some imagine, when its direct work in raising the price level is done, for its withdrawal would speedily undo the service it rendered by stimulating consumption. Inflation which seeks to pump large quantities of cheap bank money into industry at a time when plenty of investment capital and the requisite bank loans for running expenses are already available for any business that can show a profitable use for them, is foredoomed to failure as an instrument of recovery. Monetary or other remedies for depression can only succeed so far as they tend towards that greater equalization of incomes which will maintain the equilibrium between spending and saving.

London. J. A. Hobson.

A German Sunday

I SPENT Sunday, May 28, in Germany. My body, it is true, never quitted a cottage in the Chiltern Hills, but for several hours I listened over the radio to German voices and German music. The day was devoted to the memory of Schlageter, whom the Nazis have canonized as a national hero. From the wordy and sentimental biographies that floated over the North Sea, I did not gather much of interest. He was a peasant's son: he fought, of course, in the World War and went through the Inferno of Verdun. During the French occupation of the Ruhr, he carried out one of the few acts of violent sabotage that marred the disciplined passive resistance of its population. What precisely he did no one mentioned (or I did not hear it), but I remember he was arrested for blowing up a bridge of one of the railway lines that French troops were operating and dynamiting canal locks and dams near Düsseldorf. For this he was court-martialed and shot.

The ceremonies began shortly after midnight

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round Schlageter's grave. Military bands played a Funeral March by Beethoven. A choir of men's voices sang a rhetorical chant, as they marched round the grave and deposited wreaths. Then came an oration by Dr. Rust, the Prussian Minister of Education. Little of it remains in my memory. It was empty, emotional and vague like all the Nazi speeches I have chanced to hear. To his credit he said nothing directly against the French, but simply extolled Schlageter's self-sacrifice, held him up as a type and example to German manhood, and then slid off into a eulogy of Hitler, whose name he spoke in awe-stricken tones such as one might use in daring to mention a demigod. The simplicity of the speech made a certain impression on me. The thought in it was elementary and the phrasing commonplace, but it was manifestly sincere, and one felt in it the drive of turbulent, unschooled emotions. As usual, the word *"Deutsch"* or *"Deutschland"* occurred in every other sentence.

The band played again, and I tried to relive what those young men thought as they marched and sang. It was not difficult. If our southern counties, if your Eastern states, had been occupied as the Rhineland and the Ruhr were occupied by foreign troops; if as boys we had seen the colored regiments in the strange uniform quartered in our school; if we had heard, as our elders gossiped, of outrages and executions, should we have felt very differently? Would not we too have thrilled, because one man was brave enough to defy the enemy who had brought poverty and hunger to our fireside, and condemned our father to a year's unemployment—or, as often happened, to exile? Should we not have longed for the years of manhood, that we might carry a rifle and wipe out our nation's shame? When Hitler offered the chance, they took it. And these were their strong young voices, audible in the stillness of midnight across the sea. I was once as young as that. I should have gone Communist. But I thought, one by one, of the boys who went through school with me. Three in four of them in these conditions would have turned Nazi.

Broadcasts came from every corner of the German Fatherland as the day wore on. In one celebration the note of Catholic piety predominated. In another we heard a profoundly boring oration on the virtues of the Alemanni, to which ancient stock of the Nordic race we must believe that the hero belonged. British stations had a way of breaking in upon the more eloquent passages, but luckily, when Göring spoke in the evening, a Bible reading was going on, *sotto voce*. It was only occasionally audible as the orator paused. He has a pleasant baritone voice, and he began with a mild joke, which is not in Nazi usage. He, too, was simple, even elementary. Calm at first, he warmed to a hoarse peroration, and was then very difficult to hear. He had, the announcer told us, an audience of 300,000 in a vast stadium. Their "Heil" rang clear over the sea, and one all but saw the arms stretched in salute. The speech was brief and the references to Schlageter rather perfunctory. It was evidently intended, like most of Captain Göring's utterances, as a corrective to Hitler's unduly moderate oratory. The air was charged with summer thunder and he spoke amid the crash of static that suggested a harangue by Wodin. It ended abruptly, and in the silence a velvety English voice was heard on the air informing us that "the meek shall inherit the earth." I was not entirely reassured.

This, then, is how in these days Germans spend their Sundays. One tried to grasp the fact that the minds of many millions of men, women and boys were through a summer day deliberately concentrated on the picture of a German hero facing a French firing squad. Beethoven's Funeral March gave me, as I listened at midnight, only a generalized emotion; their pulses beat to it as Germans. I felt fate in its throbbing bass; they heard the tramp of French armies on their "sacred soil." In this way through several months, their emotions, with all the resources of melodramatic pageantry and haunting music, have been heightened, focused and disciplined, till a nation feels in uniform. And this process will go on. This is what Göbbels meant when he said that the Nazi government would play on the German press "as its piano." A few fanatics are communicating their neuroses, their methodical madness, to the multitude. Modern science has made it possible through the radio to turn an entire country into a Bedlam. These people may have elementary minds, for though many of their orators have the doctor's title, they do not talk like cultivated men. They are the third-raters, who had reason to fear the competition of Jewish brains. But they have the exalted energy that men obsessed with a mania of persecution often develop. Nor does it run to waste. They are Germans in this at least, that they can organize. Their staff-work is better than their creative output. They will know how to mobilize Bedlam, and when the hour strikes, their lunatics will march in step.

What are we going to do about it? In England, even more than in France, the first reaction has been one of uncompromising hostility, a blend of anger, contempt and fear. It was startling, a few weeks ago, to watch the House of Commons unanimously turning on Mr. MacDonald and rending him because he planned—or talked of planning, which is not quite the same thing—a revision of the Peace Treaties. When a little later, the Minister of War, Lord Hailsham, spoke of "sanctions," if Germany should rearm, only an occasional eccentric rebuked him. Public opinion has been so horrified by Nazi barbarities that the slow work of reconciliation is now wholly undone. A year ago Germany was popular in England, and respect for her culture blended with regret that she had been harshly used. As far as we were concerned, she might have asked for anything and got it at once—

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the end of reparations, union with Austria, even, in moderation, rearmament. Today our lips are set in a unanimous negative, and here and there men call the Germans "Huns" again. It is an alarming change, nor is it so wholly disinterested as we like to think. We do not wish to disarm Italians, or Poles, or Jugoslavs, nor do we talk in their case of "sanctions," though their governments are not less brutal, less nationalist, less militarist, less autocratic than those of Germany. But Germany can upset, as they cannot, the balance of power that we adjusted to suit our interests at Versailles. Their anti-Semitism is a symptom of a more alarming immorality.

On second thoughts some of us may change our minds. "Sanctions" are no cure for a mania of persecution, nor will a boycott remove an inferiority complex. We made this state of mind, all we victors—for there were American troops also in the Rhineland, and American costs to pay. President Wilson was as benighted as his colleagues over reparations, and rather more so over Danzig and the Corridor. The two settlements that wrought the final mischief were sponsored by great American capitalists. None of the money, it is true, was claimed by Washington, but by way of London and Paris most of it, none the less, arrived. If the French were the worst offenders, they had the best excuse. It needs no subtlety to trace this Nazi state of mind to the wound of the Ruhr occupation, festering amid economic misery. First disarmament turned adrift thousands of unemployed officers, who became the nucleus of the middle-class revolution, then subsidies for the Ruhr's population on strike led to the catastrophic inflation that wiped out the savings of the middle class. Turning then for lack of capital to overcrowd the professions, its sons constituted an immense unemployed, intellectual proletariat of teachers without schools, lawyers without clients and doctors without patients. Finally, on all this misery broke the world slump. People in this condition cannot think normally, and will turn to rend the first foreigner, Pole, Jew or Frenchman, who stands in their path. At moments there may be a case for the use of strait-jacket or padded cell, but these methods of the older psychiatry do not cure. Is there any cure save equality, even in arms, and such an effort as the *disjecta membra* of civilization may be able to make for its economic salvation?

That is, I think, what any modern psychiatrist would recommend. The best to hope for would then be that, as this nation returned to sanity, the dictatorship would lose its grip. But there are formidable objections. "Will you then," my German friends ask me, "concede to Hitler what you never granted to the Republic, and so prove that he was right in his defiance and the Marxists in their gentleness wrong?" To that there is no answer, save that to prolong inequality is to aggravate madness. But is it safe for civilization to disarm in front of this athletic madman? It would be perfectly safe if our culture deserved the name of civilization, for in that case we should be capable both of the moral effort required to heal this patient and of the physical effort that might at the worst be necessary, if he should run amuck. Take us all together, we outnumber him in an irresistible ratio. But no such civilization exists. If we were worthy of the healer's duty, we should have assumed it fourteen years ago. Schlageter would have escaped canonization, and these boys their uniforms. As for the chances of repression, should the need arise, it might be wise to consult the Chinese. History, accordingly, will go marching on, as the way of history is, and lunatics will perfect what statesmen wrought.

London. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

Illinois Miners

III: Women's March

RECENTLY ten thousand miners' wives marched to the State House in Springfield, Illinois, to present demands of the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners to the Governor.

"Their statement was tersely written," says The Progressive Miner. "It rang with the tone of resentment against the impoverishment of the workers dependent upon coal for an existence."

These were the coal-digger women's demands:

1. Restoration of civil liberties in the coal fields.
2. Increased and more equitable distribution of state aid.
3. Unemployment insurance paid by industry and state.
4. Defeat of the state sales tax.

These women, presenting their demands to their chief executive, had been organized only a brief time and had little chance for preparation. One week an announcement appeared in The Progressive Miner, their official paper, that on a certain day the march would occur. It was predicted by Agnes Wieck, president of the Women's Auxiliary, that 5,000 women would march. Instead, 10,000 women responded. In perfect order, each dressed in white, a white band around her head, they assembled. They came marching from every corner of the state with their banners and their music. They

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came in rattletrap Fords, in trucks, on trolleys. They came from the Midlands, which has borne the brunt of the fight against the Peabody Company and John Lewis's strike-breakers—the part of the country where militia and gunmen have been terrorizing the miners for the better part of a year.

These fighting women who had lived so long under terror saw with joy the banners of the women from all over the state. They came from fifty-one different communities. They marched eight abreast, and five coal-digger bands led them in their hour march from the State Arsenal to the Capitol. Watching the white-clad women streaming past with their banners and music was a great congregation of miners. They were looking on a new sight, the miners' women taking up the men's fight and protesting against the four years of hunger, want and the use of the armed forces of the state to aid in breaking the rank-and-file union.

Mother McKeever, the ninety-three-year-old veteran, led the Toney delegation—Mother McKeever who, in her spirited letter of protest to Bishop Brown, so well described the terror:

> I have witnessed more strikes than anyone through the coal fields, but such an outrageous strike I never witnessed as this one.
>
> How would you like a drunken deputy to flash his light in your bedroom window three or four times a night, fire off his big gun at two or three o'clock in the morning to scare you to death? That is the conduct that I have witnessed in my home. I have tried every possible way to do what is right and I think I have done so. They have even took my state aid off me which I received $1.30 a week. They have done everything that could be done with rascality in this neighborhood. They have thrown tear bombs in the streets, on the sidewalks when we would be walking, we were ordered off the streets like a dog. I have been a taxpayer for over thirty years and am a law-abiding citizen. . . .
>
> Father, we have got no justice in Taylorville Court House, nor we can't expect none from them clockers.
>
> Father, I made lots of sacrifices to pay to the cathedral in Springfield which I thought part of my duty to do so I'm sorry to say that I have heard such results. Mother McKeever.

As they approached the Capitol the women broke ranks and surged like a sea of white through the open space before the building and up the steps. The bands played; banners punctuated the crowd. Agnes Burns Wieck stood near the parapet bordering the statue of Lincoln, raised her fist and cried in a loud voice "Solidarity." The delegation of women then presented their demands to the Governor, making their way past the police, the plain-clothes men and the inevitable tear-gas bombs.

This extraordinary demonstration of women with its splendid solidarity had back of it long hunger, unemployment, undernourished children who had no adequate clothes to wear to school. Fear of eviction, terror of gunmen, helped to organize these women.

The Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America has for its slogan, "Fight Hunger!" It was organized almost simultaneously with the new union. It held its first enthusiastic convention in Gillespie in November, with hundreds of delegates attending. Throughout the coal fields it has worked untiringly at relief and has, singlehanded, fed thousands of unemployed miners' families and clothed thousands of children. The Women's Auxiliary has fought shoulder to shoulder with the men. They are not without victims. One woman standing in her own home was shot and killed by gunmen. The vitality of the Women's Auxiliary reflects the vitality of the young rank-and-file union in its revolt against corrupt officialdom.

There has long been stirring in the coal fields a revolt against the U.M.W. leadership. Time after time leaders have betrayed the workers. The history of past years has been one of shameless disintegration of the most militant and one of the best organized unions of the United States. In Ohio and parts of West Virginia a new union has been formed. In the South, in Kentucky and in part of Tennessee, when the U.M.W. deserted the Harlan miners, the National Miners' Union stepped in. Last year, when John Lewis and John Walker substituted a $5 wage scale for the $6.10 wage scale, there was the Progressive Miners' revolt. A rank-and-file referendum was held, and it was alleged by the miners that their ballots were stolen by U.M.W. officials. A strike was declared. There was a huge procession of miners into Franklin County to bring out their brother miners. It is ancient history how their cars were turned over, the miners gassed, beaten and wounded, the whole demonstration broken up through the treachery of the police and the use of gunmen. All doubts had vanished at last about the wisdom of forming a new union. The U.M.W. has never formed a new local without a baptism of blood. The old miners, who had suffered and been blacklisted and evicted for the sake of unionism, could not bear to desert their old union. They continued to say, "We must reform our union, and get rid of our corrupt politicians." They had not realized how closely the leaders were allied with the operators, which meant that they had at their disposal the state machinery and the armed force of the state.

The new union is a rank-and-file organization. Instead of the huge salaries and expense accounts given the old organizers, the organizers receive $18 a week, a miner's wage. The president and officers must be changed every four years. There are so many checks and balances designed to keep power in the hands of the coal diggers themselves that a convention moves cumbrously. The miners have had enough of railroading a thing through by steam-roller methods. Although John Lewis predicted their downfall when they, too, had to give up the old wage scale and when they made settlements under $5—a really major defeat—the union has

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steadily grown. Mine after mine has gone over to the Progressive Miners. And operator after operator has settled with the new union. In November 17,000 miners were working under agreements with the Progressive Miners. The large Peabody interests, in the Midlands, and some mines in Franklin County are the principal ones that have held out.

The brief history of the Progressive Miners is already bloodstained. They have had to fight not only gunmen, the sheriffs, the militia, but also the armed thugs and strike-breakers of John Lewis, who has done everything a strong and unscrupulous man could do to put down the new union—the dual union abhorred by the A. F. of L.

The Progressive Miners claim they are not a dual union, that they are *the* union, and that they have 90 percent of the rank and file. A short time ago came the news of another victim, it is claimed, of John Lewis's gunmen. There are other deaths and there are shootings, beatings, gassings, jailings without end, and always terror such as Mother McKeever described. The union, nevertheless, has kept on and flowered into the magnificent march of the women.

MARY HEATON VORSE.

IV: News from Illinois

REPORTS from The Progressive Miner: "Harrisburg, Ill.—Peabody Mine No. 43 on the western edge of this city was closed last week after a brief attempt to operate the mine with scab labor. . . . The order to close the mine followed a conference on April 25 at Marion where Saline Country officials, business men and civic leaders protested to officials of the coal company against the importation of scabs, thugs and strike-breakers. . . . A big mass meeting in Belleville last Sunday, called to protest the atrocities inflicted upon the Progressive Miners in Franklin and Perry Counties. . . . Sitting with the president on the platform was the widow of Henry Arnold, murdered Progressive Miner of Duquoin, over whose grave the reading of the miners' burial ritual was forbidden by the Perry County 'law.' . . . A legal battle may be necessary to compel the payment of $1,000 insurance due Arnold's widow from the Knights and Ladies of Security, a fraternal order of Kansas. The coroner's jury that refused to hear the testimony of Mrs. Arnold and her daughter, would have it appear that Arnold's death was 'justifiable homicide' and thus cheat this miner's widow of insurance they had been paying on for twenty years. . . . George Filkins, sixty-five, victimized Orient miner, was brutally beaten in his home last week when Franklin County deputies invaded it. Filkins suffered deep cuts on the face, a broken collarbone and a broken hand as a result of the beating. It is reported that seventeen other homes were broken into the same night as gangsters planned to provoke a civil war due to Judge Brown's issuance of an injunction preventing authorities of Franklin County from *violating* the law. . . . 'You know that the Franklin County authorities put me through the third degree trying to make me confess to obtaining money from Russia to carry on this fight.' . . . Agnes Burns Wieck provoked Lewis into a rage when she told the conference of a miner's wife dying with a new-born baby in the strike-torn village of Kincaid. As she lay on her lingering deathbed, dying from lack of food, Mrs. Wieck said, her last words were curses for Lewis. The beetle brows of the tyrant frowned and suddenly he was on his feet, lunging towards the head of the Women's Auxiliary. . . . 'About 10 o'clock, my wife and I and a friend and his wife started from West Frankfort to Carbondale. About a mile on the north side of Dowell, we got in a bunch of so-called deputy sheriffs, about fifty, all armed with machine-guns, pistols and blackjacks. They stopped my car and asked me where I was going. I told them I was on my way to Carbondale. Without saying anything else they pulled me from the car and started hitting me with blackjacks. They knocked me down on the concrete. About that time two state-highway patrolmen drove up. They didn't say a word, just sat there and looked on. This is what they call Illinois "law" and I don't know how long it is going to keep on, but in spite of it all we are going to win!' . . . 'Denning, Ark.—Your union is the general topic of conversation all over this territory, but the men are afraid to make a move for fear of losing the small jobs they now have by being thrown out of the Lewis organization. Rotten?—well, yes—the men are ready to grasp at anything to try and better conditions which at present are about unbearable, and before long they are going to rebel.' . . . 'Taylorville, Ill.—The home of John Stanley, president of the Midland local of the Progressive Miners of America, was partially destroyed and his garage was completely demolished on April 27 by two bombs which exploded in quick succession. Stanley's Buick sedan was blown to bits and his son's Chevrolet was partly wrecked, pieces of steel either from the Buick or the bomb being blown entirely through the body of the car. After the first explosion, Stanley got up, put on his trousers and was reaching for the light switch when the second blast went off. It was evidently timed to catch him as he came out on the porch but missed connections. His face was showered with glass and particles of glass were blown over the bed where the sleeping child lay. This is the third bombing in Taylorville within the last five days and the thirtieth since the formation of the Progressive Miners of America. . . . Miners in the Farmington district after being out on strike and self-sustaining for thirteen months, have been obliged to ask for relief. The courage and tenacity these men have shown makes it imperative that they be given assistance. . . . It is imperative that all local unions now working should coöperate with the state relief committee and contribute whatever they can toward the relief of the strikers. Any amount no matter how small will be appreciated.

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Many men are willing to go hungry themselves, but the sight of their wives and children starving and ragged drives them frantic with despair and they will return to work rather than see their loved ones suffer."

And, news of the Illinois mine war finally leaking through into the capitalist press. From The New York Herald Tribune for June 7: "Seven miners and a special deputy were wounded when 2,000 pickets attempted to halt operations at the Peerless Mine of the Peabody Company. Thomas Urban, twenty-five years old, of Springfield, employed at the mine, was shot in the abdomen and physicians feared he would die." EDMUND WILSON.

Self-Determination for Faculties

IN THE past few weeks, two great American universities—Harvard and Princeton—have chosen new presidents, and a third institution, Illinois, will do so in the near future. It is not, I think, too much to say that these men will play a considerable part in shaping American university life in the next generation; of the presidency of Harvard this is very notably the case. I desire, therefore, to submit some reflections upon the method by which the new presidents are chosen, with special reference to the position at Harvard. I should add that the following observations were written before the selection of Dr. Conant was announced, and are, of course, wholly impersonal in spirit.

The Harvard president is nominated by a self-perpetuating corporation to the Board of Overseers for confirmation; and it is, I think, accurate to say that the nominating body's choice is in effect decisive of the matter. The teachers are without representation on either the corporation or the Board of Overseers, so that, except for the accident of casual and highly selective consultation, they have no share in advising upon the choice of the man necessarily most influential in the making of university policy. The question I desire to raise is of the wisdom of a system which so excludes the teaching body from any share in the choice of its academic leader.

I note, to begin with, that the Harvard faculties (this is no doubt true also of Princeton and Illinois), are a group of men among whom are some of the most distinguished names in American academic life. In the natural sciences Shapley, Bridgeman and Theodore Richards; in the social sciences Taussig, McIlwain, Haskins and Schlesinger; in humane letters Lowes, Whitehead, Kittridge and Rand; these, to take but a few at random, are men who would do honor to any company of scholars. This is not less true of the professional schools; for the Law School alone, to select one only, has a reputation unsurpassed in the modern world. Presidential policy may make a very measurable difference to the life of the university; and that life consists very largely in the relationship of the teachers to their work. Yet the Harvard system provides no organic way of allowing the teacher the opportunity of being heard upon a choice which is bound very considerably to affect his destiny.

The matter is important because all university policy, especially in a man of strong will, pivots in the president. His assent is essential to all fundamental academic change. He represents the views of his faculties to the supreme governing body whom he advises and guides. All those financial threads which ultimately settle policy are in his hands. The immense changes wrought at Harvard by Mr. Lowell are evidence of what determined leadership may accomplish. The members of the faculties are necessarily and profoundly affected by such leadership, since they have to coöperate in the working of its consequences. Yet they have no institutional means of representing their views to the men who have the choice in their hands.

This is important for the simple reason that, whatever its good will, a body like the Harvard Corporation cannot know either the personnel or the problems of the university with effective intimacy. They are busy people whose contacts with the teaching body are necessarily selective and episodic. What they know they know less by direct and continuous scrutiny than by chance conversation, on the one hand, and presidential representation on the other. The adequacy of both is obviously open to serious question; and the second method, even at its best, may leave large sections of academic opinion without an effective voice. It is, I suggest, humiliating to leave a company of distinguished scholars so peripherally related to vital decisions.

And this method obtains nowhere else in the world. In England, for instance, Oxford and Cambridge are self-governing institutions; and both the Vice-Chancellor and the heads of Houses are, with three exceptions due to special historic reasons, chosen by the teachers themselves. In London, the Vice-Chancellor is elected by a Senate which is mainly a teaching body; and the heads of colleges are chosen by committees in which representatives of the teachers invariably sit. The general process of university government, moreover, is carried on by committees in which the professorate invariably, and the younger teachers generally, have a share. At my own institution, for example, effective power belongs to a governor's committee of nine, upon which the teachers have three members chosen by themselves. In the result, no academic changes of significance can be made without the certainty that

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academic opinion will be fully and directly expressed before they go into operation. The teachers do not depend upon a president in getting their views known and weighed. They are able themselves to contribute to the making of all fundamental choices.

I suggest that nothing less than this is consonant with the dignity of academic life. A body of men like the teachers of Harvard or Princeton or Illinois ought not to have decisions made for them without an adequate part in their making. The present method is an external despotism which, even if it is on occasion benevolent, neglects essential sources of knowledge and opinion and ideas. It may well be that all Mr. Lowell's policies have been wise and fruitful; and the appointments and promotions for which he has been directly responsible may have been the best conceivable. But they have not been the outcome of continuous and equal discussion with the men most affected by the result; and the technique, in less decisive hands, may well be less successful than it no doubt has been in his. Whether in weighing policies or in choosing men, I suggest that it is at least possible that the faculty could, even at the center of decision, have ideas of value to contribute.

On a recent visit to America, I had an opportunity to discuss the position at Harvard with old colleagues some of whose names have become household words in the world of scholarship. I found that one or two had been consulted about the succession to Mr. Lowell through the accident of friendship with a member of one or other of the governing bodies of the university. But most had not been consulted at all; and few of them had any notion of what a particular choice among the various names canvased might mean. All of them felt a natural delicacy in putting forward views for which they were not asked; and most, I think, had a sense of resentment that they were remote from a decision which might mean so much to the university they served.

They felt (as I thought fairly) that they were entitled to the assurance that the Corporation was canvasing the basic questions. What is a university president for? Is it essential, in a place like Harvard, that he be a Harvard man? How far should he be a scholar capable of directing administration, how far an administrator in whom a sympathetic grasp of scholarship may be expected? What vision of Harvard should he have? Is he to think of it (as I have heard it expressed) as the leader of a "tight little provincial culture," or as the embodiment of a national adventure in intelligence? What, in these critical times, is going to be his attitude to those questions of academic freedom so likely to be raised in an increasingly intensified form? Ought we to conceive of the university as remote from the social struggle, or as a place in which the ideologies of the market place may be tested in terms of scholarship? What should be the relations he ought to develop between the university and those foundations and wealthy benefactors whose relative generosity may so largely shape its life? How far the corporation of Harvard has asked these questions I have, of course, no means of knowing. That its teachers would demand their consideration (as they ought to demand it) I am confident.

I hope that the next decade will see a revision of the whole scheme of university government in America. I should like to see the faculties directly associated through their representatives with the ultimate authority of the university. I should like to see the process of consultation made general, continuous and direct; nothing less than this informed criticism can obtain the proper atmosphere for a company of scholars to do their best work. There was never a time when universities had so large a part to play in the dangerous adventure of living. They need to adjust their essential institutions to the public responsibilities they might assume.

HAROLD J. LASKI.

Washington Notes

Getting Down to Work—The Industrial Recovery Act—Congressional Revolt—The Veteran Pork Barrel

INCREASING realization that the legislative part of the administration program has been almost completely achieved and that from now on the job is almost entirely a managerial one, more and more concentrates attention and interest upon the gentlemen selected by Mr. Roosevelt as his main managers. Of these, the most conspicuous and important undoubtedly is General Hugh Johnson, who is to operate not only the industrial section of the public-works bill but the public-works end as well. I place General Johnson ahead because it seems to me the job he has been given transcends all others, and the powers lodged in his hands are by far the most sweeping. Next in importance is Mr. George Peek, formerly of the Moline Plow Company, administrator of the farm-relief legislation and beyond question the wielder of very great authority.

There are several seemingly sound reasons for putting General Johnson ahead of Mr. Peek. One is that, so far as can be ascertained from a reading of the bill and an inquiry into the facts, General Johnson will not operate under any officer of the Cabinet, but will be entirely independent of such officials and responsible only to the President; whereas Mr. Peek is the surface selection of the Secretary of Agriculture and is subject to his authority, though this does not mean that he will not have a fairly free hand. There are already some complaints that there are too many cooks around the farm-relief stove. There will be, I think, no such complaint about the work entrusted to General Johnson. For one thing, the General is an unusually dominant personality, and, so far as industrial regimentation is concerned, happens to be in a more advantageous position than either Mr. Peek or Mr. Eastman, who is generally accepted as the railroad coordinator.

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The fact is, of course, that the Industrial Recovery Act is a modernization of the system used by the War Industries Board under Mr. B. M. Baruch. The details are different, the scope is enlarged, and there is, of course, a new political philosophy underlying the act. But the scheme of operations will be mainly the same. The same sort of set-up will be required, and that is where General Johnson has his advantage, because it so happens that General Johnson was a member of that War Industries Board under Baruch and had more to do with devising and manipulating the war-industries machinery than any other man with the exception of Mr. Baruch himself. He has let it be known that his new job, so far as industries are concerned, will be managed along the same general lines, and he has accentuated the "voluntary" phase of the business. In other words, so far as it can be done, Johnson's idea is to induce the various industries, through trade associations and organization, to regulate themselves, while having the power to compel such regulation when it is refused, to bring into line recalcitrant units, and enforce.

No one need doubt that this industrial act has teeth. General Johnson succeeded in having the licensing power restored and, with that in the law, it is no exaggeration to call him a Tsar of industry. If he chooses to exert his power, he can come pretty close to remaking the entire industrial picture. The belief, however, is that Johnson's idea is to hold most of his power in reserve. His main objectives are clearly understood to be minimum-wage and maximum-hour agreements, and the avoidance, so far as possible, of anything resembling automatic price fixing or the elimination of competitive spirit. There is, I think it fair to say, nothing radical in Johnson's outlook. On the contrary, those who know him best regard him as a thoroughly practical person, unenthusiastic about untrod paths.

In the meantime, industrialists generally are pretty much up in the air as to what to do and how to adapt themselves. Much of their early ardor for the bill seems to have evaporated with a more leisurely reading of its provisions and the realization of how completely they are in the hands of the government. Washington these days is full of manufacturers of all sorts trying to get somebody to tell them what to do. They ask innumerable unanswerable questions of inconsequential people and are generally in a sad state of mind.

In a general way they are being advised either to form trade associations among themselves or to strengthen and tone up those already formed, so that when the machinery here has been set up they will have some idea of what sort of regulation is good for their particular industry. The notion is that they will then confer with the Industrial Board, of which General Johnson is the head, and try to harmonize those ideas with what is good for the public.

There is little of a definite nature concerning the ultimate shape of the industrial experiment. The spade work necessary is very great and it will be months before concrete results in the form of regulation appear. The one certain thing is that the plan is the most interesting and significant one upon which this government has ever embarked and that it possesses vast potentialities which make the personality of the administrating agency or agent of great importance and intense interest.

All through the hot summer in Washington—and when it is hot here, it is HOT—people will be trying to explain that curious incident whereby President Roosevelt upset his own apple cart, and just when Congress was on the point of adjourning, giving him practically everything he wanted, dumped in upon it, late Saturday night, his proposal for reorganization of the executive bureaus. The President showed a nice sense of deference to the feelings of Congress, since he could have made these changes by executive order, and they would have stood at least until the beginning of the next session. But in view of all this, it seems amazing that someone should not have remembered about this matter and got the question before Congress earlier than Saturday night, even recognizing how terribly busy and overworked is everyone in the President's intimate circle, and how small even such a matter as saving $25 million has come to look. The result of this ineptitude was to make the congressional leaders angry; and the angrier they got, the more they were inclined to take the bit in their teeth and remain in Washington, reopening questions which the President, and everyone else, had supposed were closed at least until next January. Under the circumstances, the wisest thing the President could do was to announce, as he did on Monday, that he would put no more pressure on Congress to adjourn and that as far as he was concerned, it could go on talking until Doomsday. Congress is like an elephant crossing a bridge: it can't be hurried without raising the possibility that you will never get it across the bridge at all.

Looking back over the session as a whole, it has been an amazing triumph for the President. No Congress in our history, of course, has ever come anywhere near equaling this one in the vastness of the changes it has brought about in the basic organization of the country. Bill after bill has been passed in just about the form the President and his advisers wanted. Barring accidents—Congress is still in session as I write—it looks as though enough of the economy program would be saved so that when everything is counted in, the President will still be able to claim a budget substantially in balance, which his advisers feel is imperative in view of the tremendous bond offerings which are coming.

Of the last-minute modifications of the Industrial Recovery Act, little need be said at this time. The Borah amendment, which would have cut the very heart out of the bill, has been modified so that price fixing is permitted even though "monopolistic practices" are not. The scheme for restoring publicity regarding income-tax payments has been altered to leave publication to the discretion of the President, giving him a useful club to hold over the heads of the rich. The proposal for abolishing tax-exempt securities has been sidetracked, but only temporarily. It will be heard of again in the next session. The one real, big question which remains to be answered is: what will the Supreme Court have to say about the constitutionality of this bill? Those close to the President know that he is determined that it shall not be tossed onto the scrap heap merely because the present conservative majority of the Court doesn't like it. If it comes down to a contest between President and Court, there will be a fight worth watching—and one in which the President has several unsuspected weapons up his sleeve.

Washington. T. R. B.

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Other People's Money

The Wizard of 23 Wall Street—Quickness of the Hand—The Magic Check—Fun with the Suckers

THERE is a little item—a mere $23,500,000—which I would have liked to see the Senate Committee clear up before it ended its labors. This trifling sum—hardly any more millions than one can count on one's fingers and toes—arises out of one of the most illuminating transactions I have ever encountered. It was actually brought out by this same committee a full year ago, but as it was never reported in the newspapers, it has been lost in the shuffle.

Here it is—and I tell it in detail, for there must be many ambitious young men now leaving college who would like to know how money is made. Here is a most instructive example. And as it leads in the end to the office of Happy Jack Morgan and his Merry Men, it ought to be cleared up fully.

A company known as the General Foods Company (not the present General Foods Corporation) owned some small investments, including a patented freezing process known as the Birdseye Freezing process. Its entire investment was $1,750,000. Now keep your eye on this $1,750,000. Watch closely. Presto! It is $23,500,000. Did you see it change? Remember it is fun to be fooled. Now see how the trick was done.

The Postum Company made an agreement with the stockholders to buy the stock in the General Foods Company for $23,500,000. Not a bad bargain for the stockholders of General Foods, eh? Who were these stockholders who could get such a good bargain out of the Postum Company? I would like to know. But now for the trick.

The Postum Company wanted to pay this $23,500,000, but it didn't have the money or didn't want to put it up or something. About that time there was floating around one of the world's most famous corporate boobs—the Goldman-Sachs Trading Corporation. It had plenty of money—money belonging to scores of thousands of investors who were told they didn't know how to manage their funds and that they should turn them over to someone who did. They turned over millions to Goldman-Sachs Corporation.

Postum Company then took Goldman-Sachs Corporation in as a partner. The Postum Company put up $10,750,000 and Goldman-Sachs put up $12,750,000 and they bought the General Foods Company. Now as Goldman-Sachs Corporation put up most of the money, you would suppose they would have the larger interest. But instead the Postum Company got 51-percent interest and the Goldman-Sachs Corporation got only 49 percent. Moreover, the Postum Company got preference on dividends and other advantages.

But there is a good deal more to this. The Postum Company didn't want to put up any money at all. And the Goldman-Sachs Corporation had plenty. So Goldman-Sachs not only put up its own share ($12,750,000) but Postum's share too ($10,750,000). The Postum Company issued 150,000 new shares and sold them to Goldman-Sachs for $10,750,000. You see it is comparatively easy.

But we are only getting to the most entertaining part of this trick. Simple-minded fellows like you, my dear reader, when you wish to buy something from Smith, let us say, walk right up to him, make your bargain, pay over the money, take your bundle and walk away. That's why you are busted now and in debt. See how smarter men do this.

The stock in General Foods Company belonged to a group of men. You'll really have to watch this pretty closely now. But it is worth while, for you are about to learn something. These men organized another company in Canada called the United Foods Company, Ltd., of Canada. To this company they turned over the stock of General Foods Company.

Next they organized another company in Delaware, called the United Foods Company of Delaware, which took all the stock of the United Foods Company of Canada.

Next the Postum-Goldman-Sachs crowd organized a company called Frosted Foods Company. This gets a little complicated, but that, perhaps, was the intention at the time. This Frosted Foods Company was to be the corporation which Postum and Goldman-Sachs were to own and which would have this Birdseye Freezing process. Postum and Goldman-Sachs paid their money over to it—to the Frosted Foods Company ($23,500,000). Now watch the checks fly.

You remember that Goldman-Sachs Corporation paid Postum $10,750,000 for its shares. Goldman-Sachs gave Postum a check for $10,750,000. Ordinarily a check like this is deposited in a bank. But not this check. Postum endorsed it over to the Frosted Foods Company. As this was in payment of most of the capital stock of Frosted Foods, you would suppose that Frosted Foods would deposit it. No! You are wrong again. Frosted Foods endorsed it over to the United Foods Company of Canada. Is it ready for banking yet? Not quite. United Foods of Canada endorsed it over to United Foods of Delaware. Now, surely, it will be put in the bank—this weary, much endorsed and much traveled check. No. It has one more stop. And where do you suppose that is? Now try just one guess. It turns up finally in the Grand Central Depot for Dough, corner Broad and Wall Streets, in the office of Happy Jack Morgan and his Merry Men.

There the story ends. But ought not the rest of this strange mystery be told? Ought we not to know why the men who managed the giant trust funds of Goldman-Sachs used their funds that way? Ought we not know who the little group of men were who engineered this deal? Ought we not to know what connection the Morgan firm had with it? And, above all, should we not know why—why, in the name of all that is reasonable—a supposedly intelligent people permit their corporation laws to be juggled in this way in order to permit such preposterous comedies as this? And—one more question—why the New Deal has not made one move as yet to change our laws so as to make this impossible?

One trifling detail ought to be added. The Goldman-Sachs Corporation supplied all the money and this money was supplied by its stockholders—the inevitable sucker army. How did they fare? Remember when this deal was put through Goldman-Sachs Corporation had:

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1. One hundred and fifty thousand shares of Postum stock for which it paid $10,750,000.

2. Forty-nine percent interest in the Frosted Foods Company for which it paid $12,750,000.

Here is the result:

1. It sold the Postum stock shortly after for $10,520,000—a loss of $230,000.

2. It sold the Frosted Foods stock to Postum Company (then called the General Foods Corporation) for $900,000 of its stock. Loss—$11,850,000.

Mr. Morgan has been enjoying the Washington hearings very much. His laughter might be interrupted long enough to ask for an explanation of this. Ah, these merry fellows: Sunny Jim Stillman and Smiling Charlie Mitchell and Happy Jack Morgan! What joy they radiate! Let us all now bow our heads in prayer while we thank the Lord for these radiant fellows.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Missed Connections: II

IN ANOTHER article, apropos of the theatre in the depression, the struggles between the unions and the theatres, the unemployed actors, the failures, and so on, I spoke of that other sort of poverty from which our theatre is suffering: its lack of relation to our life and of a stream or current on which it may be carried along, and its lack of the profound realities that would, in the midst of more literal hardships, do so much to sustain it and give it vitality. I spoke of the obvious connection of the present state in the theatre with the general state of things, and through this came to the confusion of attitude toward propaganda when it appears in the theatre art.

Whenever a play appears on Broadway in which some propaganda is offered, or seems to be offered, there is a special sort of reaction about it. Various people accept or applaud it because they commend its cause; various critics are won to it for the same reason: it has for them its particular appeal. Other people respond in the opposite direction, other critics. But the point here is not so much these two contrary reactions, for there is nothing new about that; the point is the reaction, more and more noticeable, against any sort of propaganda in a play. Against that there is a cry in which on diverse occasions a good many critics have joined. They have even gone so far as to dismiss a play entirely and summarily on the sheer ground of its being propaganda.

Put as simply as that, nothing makes greater nonsense. It connects definitely with one of the points in my first article: the habit of smoothing down, rubbing nobody the wrong way, generalizing, popularizing, by which we can sell to the largest number, a little of everything for everybody. (I heard the editor of a leading newspaper once—he might as easily have been a producer with the dramatist—say that he wanted no point of view in his critics and no personal following; which, granted our success methods, makes perfectly good sense along with superficiality and mediocre levels.) It connects definitely, also, with the lack of relation between the theatre and life; it is one more way of detaching the theatre from the world around it and leaving it emptier than ever. "Carry Nation," which for all its defects was one of the important things of the season, was obliterated, it seems, by some of our critics as being propaganda for anti-prohibition, though it was nothing of the sort and the mere notion childish. It was Americana of the best: lively, sufficiently authentic, quixotic and often beautiful within the homely depths of its material. And more recently "Little Ol' Boy," set in a boys' reform school, was driven off the boards as merely propagandist, despite its many extraordinary theatre qualities. As a counterbalance to the partisanship that will keep fifth-rate plays going merely because of the cause they promote, this ruction against any propaganda whatever has excellent uses. But there is nothing else to be said for it.

In our theatre we are welcome to make propaganda so long as the piece that embodies it is funny. We have here the esthetics of the comic with the implications of superiority, etc. [see the usual explanations of the comic] to ease matters; but, what is more to our point, we have also the good esthetic justification that the propaganda material has been truly converted into theatre substance, the comic plot, the laughter, the wit, high spirits and so on, and has thus a life of its own. But when the propaganda is embodied in a serious or solemn or problematic form, the case is different. It must be said that in most instances the result is apt to remain mere propaganda, some cause, some pleading, often tricky and only half-sincere; there has not been enough talent to create it into living theatre substance. In such instances we have, as we have often seen, the division I have spoken of: some who damn the play for its cause, which they oppose, and some whose support of its cause delays the natural death that it is due. The sheer presence of propaganda in the theatre is yet another discussion.

When Maecenas wrote to Augustus, "Take active part in divine worship, in every way established by our ancestral customs, and compel others to respect religion, but avoid and punish those who attempt to introduce foreign elements into it. Do so not merely as a mark of honor to the gods . . . but because those who introduce new deities are by that very act persuading the masses to observe laws foreign to our own. Hence we have the secret gatherings and meetings of various sorts, all of which are inconsistent with the monarchical principle," he was, on his own ground, talking perfect sense, as the share taken in the decay of Rome by the Greeks, Jews and Egyptians who flocked there was later on to prove. The entire classic period of Greek drama could be said to have done propaganda for certain set ideals, basic to the national epoch. Molière's "Tartuffe" was so perfectly created into comic theatre that it was subsequently used by two opposing sides each as an attack on the other; and yet the fact that Molière took most seriously the attack or cause he wished to promote is proved by those five years he gave of labor and agony toward the play's perfection and its chance for presentation on the stage.

Nothing could be better, then, for our theatre just now than that it should cut loose into propaganda. The line, of course, is delicate between what is propaganda and what the personal burden of the dramatist's own mind, as we may see in Strindberg's great play "The Father," where the conviction and passionate slant of the writer become for all purposes a cause to be fought for—what shall he ex-

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press but the things most pressing and significant to him? Perhaps if we had one play roaring with one cause, we might have another assailing it, two voices shouting one another down, and by God's grace each with like power and force. And if not, well, then the very attack itself might chasten and perfect to a quintessence the play opposed—who could say, for example, what Norwegian hostility did toward concentrating Ibsen's technique, however much it may have hurt the flexibility and poise of his talent, or what the resistance to "Tartuffe" did for its lucid supremacy in its kind? The warm backing of a play sheerly for its propaganda may distort art's values, since partisanship overestimates what is really created there. On the other hand, absence of propaganda *(in a play whose fit content would amount to propaganda)* may distort our conception of art's nature, for art is not just some pleasing affair or empty Elysium. That would be too easy a game for audiences and critics. The esthetic of it might then too readily depend on one's dinner, companion or taste for blondes—already a too familiar critical reaction.

Some effective pieces of propaganda in the theatre might at least raise the audience to the plane of catcalls and hisses instead of the usual muteness of Broadway disapproval, which expresses itself largely by spoiling afterward the ticket sales—a characteristic parallel in most cases to the show's own success method. Or at least we might have a greater variety of subject matter than at present in a theatre where love is thought so necessary an ingredient or where, at any rate, we are so perpetually in a kind of sex morass, as if there were no other concerns in life but sex. If that were true we should have to find a different solution for sex in our American theatre. Sex taken seriously would mean a very complex, very wide searching and inclusion of experience, an exact and rich connection between life and a theatre that would thereby dilate technique and increase vitality. Certainly that could not be said for many of our love dramas. Sex taken literally would mean a stampede to the stage, where enough of what has always been taken anthropologically as lure is exposed to break up a Neapolitan audience, as a rule largely masculine, or hurl one of African zouaves into a phallic riot. Certainly that cannot be said of Broadway males taking it all as if it were a *table d'hôte*.

Within this connection between our theatre and life that propaganda, however unfortunate it might be at times, might help to increase, it is at least conceivable that the great drama might appear. Whatever propaganda might exist there would be no longer propaganda but alive, in the sense that the sage meant when he said, as a hint to brother philosophers, that sheep did not vomit up what they ate as leaves and twigs but converted it into hides and wool. When Louis XIV asked Boileau what great writer had most honored his reign, and Boileau said Molière, the King said, "I should not have thought so." This is as it should be. The best propaganda for the civilization of Louis' epoch, in the social aspect of it that was most lucid, human and lasting, is found in Molière's drama. But that drama is at the same time so entirely a work of art that the King, seeking protagonists for his causes, canons and qualities, looked on past Molière toward such men as Fénelon, Racine, Bossuet.

STARK YOUNG.

CORRESPONDENCE

Price Fixing and Social Credit

SIR: Some importance attaches to Mr. Chamberlain's article on Social Credit [The New Republic, May 31]. Other American magazines have preceded The New Republic in publishing explanations of Social Credit, but these were prepared by adherents of Major Douglas's scheme. The earliest expositions, written by Mr. H. B. Brougham, appeared in The New York Globe, under the managing editorship of Mr. Bliven, and we compliment him on his immediate awareness of new economic doctrine. But Mr. Chamberlain's article is the first by any American who can be called an uncommitted observer of economic schools. This is its importance.

We appreciate Mr. Chamberlain's difficulties. He essayed (a) to give the news about the far-flung Social Credit movement, (b) to interpret Douglas's leading ideas, (c) to criticize those ideas—all, to make matters harder, for the benefit of a public uninstructed in his subject.

We were surprised that as a news-reporter of our embryonic national movement Mr. Chamberlain neglects those items which seem to be our "story": the issuance of "Financial Freedom for Americans," which was signed by a former editor of The New Republic and by several former regular contributors to your pages; the White Plains Trading Circle scheme of Mr. Brougham; the Plan for the State of New Jersey released last February; our educational work with barter groups. Nor was mention made of The New Economics Group of San Francisco, whose activities have been as prominent as the New York Group's. We cite these facts because Mr. Chamberlain has made the Social Credit movement in America appear excessively parochial.

The standard for interpretation of any theory requires that the theory should be so stated by the critic that its proponents agree their ideas have been fairly represented. Mr. Chamberlain could not meet this requirement, since he is unclear about the theory's core, the nature of credit. He omits the first proposition: financial credit pretends to be, and is not, a reflection of real credit. This omission puts his interpretation off the ground and lets it drift cloudily, according to the writer's preconceptions. Social Credit is not, as he thinks, the term for the reimbursement to the retailer of the credit granted the buyer. By this error Mr. Chamberlain has obscured the Douglas consumer-credit principle. Real credit is a correct estimate of a community's ability to deliver goods (including services) as, when and where required. It is communal in origin and should be socialized. At present communal credit is regarded as the property of the banks.

Furthermore, had he quoted Douglas's formulation of the A plus B Theorem, your readers would have seen that *rate* was important. But he indicates no awareness that a time factor is involved in the operation of the Theorem. "The significant thing for practice is that money is not issued by industry to consumers at a rate which enables industry to clear either its product or its costs of production before the money is due to be reabsorbed by the banking system."—The New English Review.

Since we hold that Mr. Chamberlain has not qualified as a critic by understanding the subject, it is superfluous to criticize his criticisms. Or rather they are borrowed criticisms answered in that Social Credit literature Mr. Chamberlain has yet to master. There is one novelty: the alleged need of policemen to force people to accept more purchasing power!

W. A. NYLAND, Executive Secretary,
The New Economics Group of New York.

New York City.

SIR: It has apparently not entered Mr. John Chamberlain's mind that Major Douglas uses words with the precision of an engineer. Mr. Chamberlain [The New Republic, May 31] describes the Douglas "Just Price Proposal" by saying that "it subsidizes perpetual price cutting."

It is impossible to reconcile this interpretation with Major Douglas's evidence before the Select Committee on Banking and Commerce of the Canadian Parliament in 1923. Major Douglas

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said: "What I would like to make clear is the difference between that proposition [the Just Price] and a subsidy. A subsidy is money which is collected by taxation and applied to a particular purpose, the reduction of prices or anything of that sort. It is taking money from one part of the process and putting it on the other. This money for this purpose [the Just Price] is not collected by tax. It is derived by a creation of credit."

Nor is it possible to call the Douglas scheme "price fixing," if attention is paid to the meanings of words. Major Douglas also stated at Ottawa his objection to price fixing: "There are certain good, sound, practical objections to what are called fixed prices. A good many experiments have been tried in fixing prices and there are many ways of getting round fixation of prices. In addition to that, they have what I personally regard as an insuperable objection: they put everybody dealing in a commodity on one flat level, and they do away with the undoubted benefits which do appertain to competition. There are certain undoubted disadvantages which appertain to competition at the present time, such as wastefulness, and so forth, in many cases, but there are certain very great advantages which appertain to competition, and those are affected by fixed prices." The Douglas Proposal is not for price fixing at all, but for price regulation.

PAUL ERNEST ANDERSON.

New York City.

SIR: I find both Mr. Nyland and Mr. Anderson unclear. But I will make an attempt to answer them.

1. I had read "Financial Freedom for Americans," and it seemed to me only a "come-on" pamphlet, worth something as that, but not much more. It did not enter my head that it was worth space.

2. If I had gone into the New Jersey plan and the White Plains scheme and the San Francisco movement, there would have been no space for what I considered more important aspects. I admit I should have mentioned them. But I still think Douglas is parochial in terms of the American situation. Because he obscures social issues, I hope he remains so.

3. I think Mr. Nyland makes too much fuss about axioms. I agree with him that financial credit is no reflection of real credit, if you want to define real credit as a correct estimate of a community's ability to deliver the goods. But surely Major Douglas is not the first to make the point. Edward Bellamy, Karl Marx, and probably Adam Smith, assume this as a first principle. If I had any preconception, it was that everyone, even bankers, knows that financial credit is a mystic pattern of action, something on a par with the Holy Ghost so far as its solidity goes. I agree that "communal credit" should be "socialized." But how to give these terms content, and how to get the socialization? These matters bother Hobson, Cole, Lawrence Dennis and innumerable other commentators on the economic situation, none of whom is a Douglasite. Mr. Nyland has demolished me by stating the obvious, when I agree to the obvious. He has not answered any argument I raised.

4. I thought I had taken into consideration the time factor. If I accepted Hobson, it was because I do not think Douglas has disposed of Hobson. If Mr. Nyland will find me space in a magazine, I will tell him why Douglas has not disposed of Hobson. It is, of course, obvious to anyone in the fourth year of a depression that consumers do not get money at a rate which would enable industry to clear its product.

5. Of course my criticisms of Douglas were borrowed! I hope I make no pretense to being an original thinker. But the A plus B Theorem seemed to me to be irrelevant the moment I looked at it. That was before I had read Hobson. Splitting current purchasing power up into any series of letters seems to me to falsify the picture; Foster and Catchings in America have argued that spending must be kept up if capitalism is to continue, but they have never, so far as I know, fallen for abracadabra. Obviously, Douglas's "A" item can be subdivided into fast and slow spenders on the one hand, and into misers on the other. Doubtless there are gradations in misers, too. The A plus B Theorem seems to me to be arbitrary and useless as a picture-making device.

6. Policemen are not needed to get people to accept purchasing power. Policemen *are* needed to validate Social Credit as purchasing power.

7. Price fixing and price regulation seem to me to be interchangeable terms. No one supposes that price-fixing agreements are intended to last forever. They can last for a day or a year, but it is still "fixing" in any common usage of the term. You can't "regulate" without "fixing" your landmarks. Why this quibbling?

8. I don't understand Major Douglas's definition of the word "subsidy." If I dig gold out of the ground and use it to subsidize a magazine, is it a subsidy or isn't it? And do I collect the gold by taxation? I'm merely asking.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

New York City.

Friends of the Indian

SIR: In the editorial columns of your publication of April 26, in commenting on the appointment of John Collier to the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there are two statements that I wish to protest. You say "he has . . . exposed the numerous attempts to rob them (often made with the connivance or participation of those officially nominated as their protectors) . . . ." You end the paragraph "we take for granted . . . that a new deal for the Indians will at last begin."

To those of us who know intimately the former Commissioner and Assistant-Commissioner, Charles J. Rhoads and J. Henry Scattergood, the impression left by this paragraph seems entirely unfair.

It misrepresents both the spirit of unselfishness and sacrifice in which they undertook this work and also the great good they have accomplished. Recognition of this was expressed by Secretary Ickes and by Mr. Collier, when the latter was inducted into office April 21. . . .

JONATHAN M. STEERE,
President, Indian Rights Association.

[Mr. Steere misinterpreted our editorial paragraph, which was not intended to refer exclusively to the care given the Indians during the Hoover regime, but to cover a much longer period. In many ways, the Hoover administration represented a great advance in treatment of the Indians over anything previously seen.—THE EDITORS.]

Penalizing the Unmarried

SIR: Now that an increase in income-tax rates is being considered, isn't it time something was done about our government's senseless discrimination against unmarried persons? Why a man and woman with a joint income of $2,500 a year, maintaining a single establishment, should be considered unable to pay an income tax because married; although two people, not married, keeping up separate residences on $1,250 a year apiece, are made to contribute $10 each (at the present rate) to maintain the filibusters of Huey Long, wives and relatives on the congressional pay roll, cross-country junkets to congressional funerals, the mileage racket, the senatorial barbershop and what-not, in addition to reasonable governmental expenses, is beyond calculus. A married couple, if the wife is not working, can take advantage of many economies in marketing, upkeep of the home, care in illness. If both are occupied during the day, they still face no greater odds than does the bachelor. Any single person who can keep up a really decent standard of living in one of our large cities on $1,250 a year and have anything left over is an economist and manager worthy of a better salary—although, the recent crash having shown what a premium we place on poor management, he probably won't get one.

Also, in thousands of cases, during the depression, unmarried persons have had to contribute to the support of families of relatives and friends. Because of the wording of our income-tax law, in case these beneficiaries were not resident under the same roof, or not a legal responsibility of the donor, no deduction for this support was allowed in tax payments. Many a salaried worker making $25 a week has had to give ten of those dollars—or more—

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weekly to destitute relatives and was still obliged to pay $10 in taxes. Still, in the distribution of relief funds, the unmarried man and woman were discriminated against.

The legislation which creates this favored class is worse than unfair; it is silly. It is of a piece with that maudlin sentimentality, cited in one of the late books on Washington, which induced his constituents to reëlect a Congressman known to keep his very stupid wife on the pay roll as secretary—because, he explained, he believed in the sanctity of the marital relation, the purity of the home, and would not have any designing hussy of an emancipated business woman in his office.

New York City. B. E. B.

C.C.N.Y. and Its President

SIR: On the afternoon of May 29, the president of the College of the City of New York, escorted by Colonel Lewis, head of the College R.O.T.C., and two Daughters of the American Revolution, was proceeding to a military exhibition to be held in the Lewisohn Stadium. *Across the street from Dr. Robinson, who was walking past the walls of the Stadium,* an anti-R.O.T.C. demonstration began to jeer at Colonel Lewis. At this Dr. Robinson, a holder of several degrees, president of the League of Human Rights and president of one of the largest colleges in the world, charged across the street and began to belabor several of his own students with an umbrella. His arms were pinioned, his hat fell off, but no one struck him. Then the police rescued him and he went on into the Stadium. I use italics because every New York newspaper said that Robinson's entrance into the Stadium was obstructed. This is a lie; when Robinson attacked the students he was moving away from the Stadium.

The next day seven students were suspended, among them some victims of Robinson's umbrella. One, Adam Lapin, had been elected secretary of the Student Council on a platform including abolition of compulsory military training.

On June 1, the Board of Higher Education expelled four editors of the student newspaper, The Campus, on the grounds of "obscenity," after a complaint by Colonel Lewis. It is perhaps no coincidence that the editors had fought for the abolition of the R.O.T.C.

The same day Norman Thomas, Robert Minor and several students addressed a demonstration of more than 800 students. Repeated and deliberate attempts of about twenty R.O.T.C. students to provoke a riot were unsuccessful. Again the newspapers, this time with the exception of The New York Times, wholly misrepresented the facts.

That afternoon a faculty committee of three was appointed to investigate the events of May 29. Two of its members have promised more suspensions. At the same time the Social Problems Club, the Student Forum and the Liberal Club, which have for years fought for the abolition of the R.O.T.C., were suspended.

C.C.N.Y. has always been a home of reaction; the administration's policy has consistently been aimed at conciliation of Tammany and the big realtors. But now the administration has been hit in a sore spot; the militarization of youth is an important function of American higher education; criticism of the War Department's representatives in the colleges and universities evokes the most brutal reprisals. Here at City College the student newspaper, all of the clubs voicing liberal opinions and most of the liberal leaders of the student body have been suspended or expelled, with more suspensions and explusions promised.

New York City. A C.C.N.Y. SENIOR.

[A copy of the foregoing letter was shown in advance of publication to the authorities at City College and they were invited to make a reply. The following letter by Dr. Paul Klapper is in response to that invitation.—THE EDITORS.]

SIR: Military science is not prescribed at the City College but a two years' course in physical education is. Students must elect, in addition, either *one* year of physical training or *two* years of military training. The fact remains that 846 students did select two years of military training in preference to one year of physical training and that more students than could be accommodated elected the advanced courses in military training.

Students have enjoyed the unrestrained right to express themselves against military training in classrooms, in The Campus and in club meetings. In fact, on many occasions students have actually made their opposition to military training the subject of their public-speaking assignments. The same freedom has been enjoyed by members of the faculty. I, myself, have voiced my belief that military training should not be part of a college curriculum in time of peace.

Attendance upon the military review was entirely voluntary. The faculty believes that those who do not favor the R.O.T.C. may speak their minds freely but must not organize to interfere with the conduct of the military department or to jeer and boo at the president and the guests of the College who choose to attend a military review.

The faculty further believes that the small group which participated in the shocking demonstration of May 29 is guilty of disgraceful behavior, and that guests of the College, among them ladies, should have been spared the humiliation to which they were subjected.

Your correspondent says that President Robinson "charged across the street." The president says that as he and his guests approached the gate they were met by a "jostling mob" that blocked the Stadium entrance and refused to open up a passage. He continues, "I began to clear the way but did not run across the street." The faculty investigating committee assures me that of the thirty-odd alleged student participants so far interviewed, "No two give the same picture of what happened." Since I was not present I can give no personal testimony. But whatever the facts, the demonstration was well under way before the president appeared.

The suspension of The Campus and the expulsion of four of its editors are not even remotely related to the question of military training. The young men were disciplined for publishing an issue so obscene as to bring discredit upon the College. They themselves admitted later that the charge of "gratuitous obscenity" was well founded. The fact that the editors "fought for the abolition of the R.O.T.C." is purely a coincidence, and nothing more. Not once during the incumbency of these editors did the faculty take issue with The Campus for its outspoken hostility to military training.

The three clubs mentioned by your correspondent were suspended, not because of their hostile attitude towards the R.O.T.C., but because the faculty suspected that they planned the disgraceful demonstration. Some of our young people have yet to learn that in the exercise of one's freedom of speech, one must not interfere with the freedom of action of those holding different or even opposing views.

PAUL KLAPPER,
New York City. Department of Education.

Extracts from Letters

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, editor of The Commonweal and President of the Calvert Associates, sends us a copy of a letter which has also been addressed to the Secretary General of the League of Nations and several American groups affiliated with churches or interested in better understanding between races. In it, he outlines a plan to assist the emigration of a large number of young Jews from Germany. They would be sent to various countries on a quota basis and would be assisted in every possible way to establish themselves in their new homes. Radical German Jews would be excluded from the plan.

George A. Burcham, of 1015 Lake Street, Evanston, Illinois, writes on behalf of the Youth Peace Council, a group of young people from the universities and churches of the Chicago area, which is planning a pacifist congress for youth on June 30 and July 1.

Norman Thomas, of the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, announces an eight weeks' travel seminar in Europe and Russia this summer under the sponsorship of the League.

David J. Saposs, of Brookwood College, Katonah, New York, announces a Summer Labor Festival for the Fourth of July week-end.

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Unscrambling a Receivership

The Investor Pays, by Max Lowenthal. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 415 pages. $2.50.

FOR THOSE who require light reading this book is not to be recommended. Materials taken from a legal case-analysis of the greatest railroad receivership in American history must be dull unless woven into an epic of big-business achievement or a social tract. Mr. Lowenthal's book is neither. For those who want evidence to prove a case against our present business order and leaders, "The Investor Pays" is an ideal document. For those who defend or would amend our business civilization the book offers little but annoyance and discouragement. As for those mythical persons who are supposed to be impartial seekers after facts, just facts, it may be said that this book has nothing much but facts. These facts, however, as in all books of facts, are selected and emphasized. The selection and emphasis make the facts presented suggest unpleasant conclusions about business ethics and gloomy speculations about the future of private capitalism.

Instead of describing in terms of broad theory and principles how certain types of financial rascality are currently practised by our best leaders, Mr. Lowenthal tells the story of the receivership of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, which occurred in 1925. The shrinkage in the market value of the securities of this road from 1909 to 1925 was about $455 million. How the road came to that pass may be inferred from the following extract of testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission:

> Mr. Grady: But now looking back over fifteen years, can you recall a single achievement of the board of directors that was to the real benefit of the stockholders?
>
> Mr. Percy Rockefeller: If it were to be done over, I don't know how it would be done differently.

After more stalling by the witness, the following question and answer were recorded:

> Mr. Grady: But you cannot recall a single thing that has proven of benefit to the stockholders, can you?
>
> Mr. Rockefeller: The situation has been unfortunate.

Then follows the story of the receivership which can fairly be called a racket. The directing bankers were Kuhn, Loeb and Company. The guiding legal minds were the firm of Cravath, Henderson and de Gersdorff. The problems of these parties who had no proprietary interest worth mentioning in the railroad were to find a friendly judge, to get him to appoint friendly receivers, to make as much as possible out of the receivership and, of course, to do everything in a way to avoid criminal or civil liability. The bankers talked things over with Judge Wilkerson and made sure that he would be available on a certain date, March 18, to hear a petition and that he would appoint a right receiver. "The bankers went shopping among the federal judges in order to secure the appointment of the men they wanted as receivers." The Supreme Court later decided that there had been "a fraud not only upon the state court but upon the federal court itself, and when the federal court learned the method by which its jurisdiction to appoint a receiver had been invoked, it should have denied to those who were guilty the further use of its jurisdiction." The fact, however, that that receivership had been obtained by fraud constituted only a minor incident in the working out of the larger scheme of the bankers.

The reorganization plan supported by the two receivers was the work of Mr. Hanauer, a partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, assisted by Mr. Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank. Mr. Hanauer gave up a summer holiday in Europe to work out at White Sulphur Springs with Mr. Swaine, a partner of Cravath, Henderson and de Gersdorff, the plan whereby three major but simple problems of the St. Paul Railway were to receive obvious solutions and whereby the privileged bankers, counsel and insiders were to make millions at the expense of the holders of junior securities of an insolvent railway. These security holders, of course, were, as a practical matter, unable to protect themselves against an organized banking group which commanded unlimited financial resources, the best legal talent of America and access to judges, directors and inside information about the embarrassed company. The Guaranty Trust Company and the National City Bank of New York, along with legal firms such as Shearman and Sterling; Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardner and Reed; Sullivan and Cromwell; Winston, Strawn and Shaw were in on the deal.

An assessment of $9 million was laid on the stockholders, amounting to $4 a share, or more than the market value of the common stock after the road was put in receivership. This money was needed for fees for the bankers and lawyers. The Interstate Commerce Commission thought the fees excessive. The bankers and lawyers took up the battle and went before the Supreme Court represented by Charles Evans Hughes and John W. Davis to uphold the contention that Congress did not give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to supervise reorganization fees. It was intimated that if Congress had done such a terrible thing, Congress would be violating the Constitution. Five judges agreed with the bankers that the arrangement for fees was a private matter not subject to public regulation. The trouble, of course, with this so-called private arrangement was that it had not been reached in fair proceedings. Neither the majority nor the minority of the judges on the Supreme Bench had knowledge of all the facts bearing on the question whether the applicant for an injunction came into court with clean hands. Nevertheless, the minority opinion stated, "The failure to conform to those elementary standards of fairness and good conscience which equity may always demand as a condition of its relief to those who seek its aid, seems to require that such aid be withheld from [the new company]."

In this case we do not have an example of able business men creating a successful enterprise and levying a heavy toll for their services. We have here a case of bankers and lawyers making a racket of a business failure. They made it appear that the St. Paul security holders themselves created the committees—which was substantively untrue; that the committees called in the bankers; that the bankers acted as agents of the bond and stockholders; that the stockholders came into the reorganization freely; that they turned millions of dollars over to the bankers as their agents, to be paid by those agents to various persons as fees; and that the arrangement was a strictly private matter.

It is not the immorality of what was done in the St. Paul receivership and reorganization that makes this book especially interesting. It is names that make news. What gives to the analysis of this book paramount social importance is the fact that the best bankers and the best lawyers, such as Charles Evans Hughes and John W. Davis, have

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been accessories or legal counsel in the conception, perpetration and defense before the courts of such equitable frauds against the investing public. LAWRENCE DENNIS.

Soviet Justice

Wrecking Activities at Power Stations in the Soviet Union (The Case of the English Engineers). New York: Amkniga Corporation. 3 volumes. 805 pages. $2.75.

UNDER the vigorous prodding of an indignant British government, the Soviet authorities brought six English engineers to trial, on April 12 last, on charges of wrecking activities, bribery and espionage. On the nineteenth, five of the defendants were convicted. With the same celerity, the Soviets have now issued and distributed the verbatim record of the proceedings in an adequate English translation.

The title page of these volumes bears the names of twelve Russian defendants, but the latter, having made detailed and even overelaborate confessions, are merely the chorus in the drama. Of the English, Gregory, charged with collecting secret information of state and military importance, was acquitted, but justice requires that a word more be said. The confession of Zivert implicated Gregory in acts of sabotage. Zivert was discredited by the prosecution itself, for no such charge was brought against Gregory. Zivert's testimony clearly indicates a grudge against Gregory, and the latter's proved record of meritorious service in Russia speaks for itself.

Nordwall and Monkhouse were convicted of bribery and wrecking activities, and the remaining three Englishmen of the same offenses and the added crime of espionage. Thornton and MacDonald received sentences of three and two years, respectively; Monkhouse, Nordwall and Cushny were ordered deported, and prohibited from reëntering Russia for five years. The leniency of the court is apparently explained by its remark, in passing sentence on some of the Russian defendants, that the wrecking activities did not cause serious damage to the industrial power of the U.S.S.R.

The case appears to have originated in an investigation by a commission of experts of a series of delays and breakdowns at several power stations. The commission reported that it found evidence of criminal negligence and deliberate wrecking of machinery, and confessions were ultimately obtained from a number of Russian engineers.

Gussev, a veteran of Kolchak's army and chief of the Zlatoust Power Station at the time of his arrest, confessed various acts of sabotage, and also stated that he collected military information for MacDonald. Similar confessions were made by other Russians, but the feature of the case is the written admissions made by the Englishmen, MacDonald and Thornton. In a statement on March 19, reproduced in facsimile in these volumes, MacDonald writes, ". . . I gave direct instructions for the damage of machinery and equipment at certain plants and establishments of the U.S.S.R., particularly at plants which have military defensive significance (Zlatoust)." Another written statement of similar tenor was made by MacDonald on April 5. Thornton admitted in writing that he engaged in "spying operations" (but not wrecking activities), and purported to give a list of Englishmen engaged at various times in collecting political, economic and military information on an apparently systematic scale.

Testimony was adduced at the subsequent trial as to payments by MacDonald, Thornton and Monkhouse to various Russians. In most cases, the evidence of alleged bribes consists of the confessions made by the Russian recipients. In one case, however, that of Dolgov, the payment was admitted by Thornton and Monkhouse, though some dialectical discussion took place in court as to whether the 3,000 rubles were a gift, a loan or a bribe. Thornton and Monkhouse wrote the amount off on their books six months after the money passed. Dolgov apparently did not ask for the gift or loan; in any event, he promptly turned it over to the O.G.P.U. and reported that an attempt had been made to bribe him. In this instance, the money does not appear to have been paid in connection with espionage or wrecking activities. As manager of the control department of Electro-Import, Dolgov had the duty of presenting claims for compensation for defects in equipment supplied by foreign firms. His good will was valuable, and the bestowing on him of a gift may have been a venial or at least a not uncommon incident of commercial practice, but it was obviously bad business to be caught at it. Assuming that the Soviet authorities set a trap for the English, it also seems clear that the latter fell into it quite readily.

MacDonald and Thornton made curiously half-hearted attempts to repudiate their confessions. MacDonald pleaded guilty to all of the charges against him, but in the course of the trial stated, "According to the testimony given by myself, I plead guilty; in actual fact not guilty." He did not clarify this statement, and subsequently repeated his admissions of guilt in several particulars. If we assume that MacDonald's admissions, upon his preliminary examination, were extorted from him, a claim which he does not make, there was ample opportunity for him to repudiate them in open court, considering that at this stage of the case the eyes of the world were on the Moscow court, and all England was clamoring in his behalf.

Thornton, an older and more experienced man, testified that he made his damaging admissions because he was fatigued by prolonged questioning, and was also frightened. He testified that no "special" or third-degree methods were applied by his inquisitors, but stated, "I was questioned for a very long time. It was suggested to me that if I confessed, *Vyso budet Khorosho,* everything would be all right. . . . Further, if I did not confess, I should be of no use in Soviet Russia or England. Then I was so tired and browbeaten by the whole thing that I signed it." Elsewhere he testified, "I was simply afraid, but of what I do not know myself." Nordwall and Cushny made no admissions, and Cushny volunteered the statement in court that he had been fairly treated by the O.G.P.U. It seems doubtful whether any court would have excluded Thornton's admissions on the theory that they were procured by threats.

Apart from the written admissions, there was evidence which lent itself to dubious interpretation, and which could properly have been taken into account by the court, in connection with all the other circumstances in the case, such as MacDonald's admission that he carried on a secret correspondence with Gussev through the messenger, Ryabova, and burned all his letters, Thornton's statement that Cushny's expense accounts "contained suspiciously large sums," and his admission that his own diaries, in which he entered sundry expenditures in connection with his work, had been sent to England. Legitimate explanations of all these circumstances might be suggested, but there was also room for contrary inferences.

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The political value of the case was not neglected by the prosecution, and it would be easy to dismiss the entire proceeding as a propaganda show, if it rested merely on the confessions of the Russians. There were numerous delays and breakdowns at power stations. What better alibi than to lay them to the criminal activities of the representatives of the capitalist enemy rather than to the inexperience and incapacity of the industrial shock troops of the Soviets? This might account for the voluble confessions of the accused Russians, and much of the evidence fairly lends itself to such a theory, but it scarcely seems possible to stretch the explanation to cover the astonishing admissions of MacDonald and Thornton and the other dubious circumstances in the case. SAMUEL D. SMOLEFF.

Yesterday in Bohemia

Garrets and Pretenders, by Albert Parry. New York: Covici-Friede. 399 pages. $3.50.

FOR the genesis of bohemianism we must walk behind the scenes of Henri Murger's "Vie de Bohême." The great bourgeois revolutions in France and North America had left the professional classes trailing behind them. The Romantics who hailed the revolution as the savior of humanity and of the individual soul were without clear status in middle-class society. The privileges of patronage were withdrawn, and the writer, like any other good bourgeois, was free to earn his living as best he could supplying copy for booksellers, magazines, newspapers. Of course, the adjustment was imperfect, and individual revolt, which had hitherto been directed against feudal society, swung round to a critical attitude toward the newly enriched classes. The Romantic artist, forced into a position of self-defense, cultivated his rights as a superior being. Here, in city streets—it made no difference if the city were Paris, Baltimore or New York—the artist exerted new privileges as a gypsy, a "free lance." It remained for Murger to make the traditional poverty of the artist attractive and to paint the picture of starvation in a garret in soft, pastel colors. The life of a Bohemian! What an escape this offered well-to-do young men who wished to sow their wild oats in an original manner! Go live among the artists—there you will find girls free for the asking, wine that need not be paid for—and, if the landlord pleads for rent, tell him you are an enemy of bourgeois society.

Quite properly, Albert Parry opens his history of Bohemianism in America with a sketch of Edgar Allan Poe, and recites the more lurid aspects of the Poe legend. Now, as always, the crude outlines of Poe's career serve as a basis for a good "feature story," and Albert Parry's history has all the merits of a well constructed piece of journalism. In a history such as this, legend takes precedent over fact, for Parry is investigating a state of mind that throve on gossip and tall tales. A colorful presentation of an episode is more effective here than any careful revaluation of the facts.

It took some five years for Murger's Bohemia to cross the Atlantic and to land feet first in Pfaff's saloon. Almost at once, America's Bohemia became a champion of women's rights, and Ada Clare was crowned queen. It was her personality that gave Pfaff's its colorful, sinful atmosphere. Her candid exhibit of the bleeding female heart serves as a legitimate tradition for the more recent exhibit of an Edna Millay. The beautiful girl in trouble of some kind has always been attractive to us, has acted as a graceful counterpoint to Puritan severity. It was natural that our first Bohemia should house a woman and promptly deify her sorrows.

The Civil War brought Pfaff's institution to an early end; not even Walt Whitman's presence could revive its pre-war glories. Cannily enough, Parry selects the Trilby vogue as the next important revival in American Bohemianism. This he combines with two excellent chapters on the first invasion of Americans into Paris and the origin of The Yellow Book. To appreciate these chapters fully I recommend a rereading of Matthew Josephson's "Portrait of the Artist as American," for Josephson supplies the necessary interpretation of such lost souls as Lafcadio Hearn and his relationship in spirit to a James McNeill Whistler. Through Whistler, Murger's "Vie de Bohême" bore fruit directly, for the little book sent him to Paris and there, combining bourgeois luxury with Bohemian freedom, he set the pace for other exiled Americans. It was a simple matter for Europeans to accept an Ezra Pound after a foretaste of Whistler.

The climax of "Garrets and Pretenders" is, of course, the most spectacular of all American Bohemias, Greenwich Village in the years 1910 to 1920. Within this climax lies the career of The Masses—and the foundation of three important "little magazines," The Little Review, Broom and Transition. With these the movement returns to its original source, Paris, and forthwith promptly dies. Albert Parry's book is the obituary—a tribute and farewell—for poverty is no longer a romantic dream wherein the free-lance artist, proud individual, spears effigies of bourgeois sexual morality. Even our bohemias of the Pacific Coast and New Mexico, with their tradition of inherited wealth, seem now, more than ever before, an archaic survival, outmoded as last year's background for a Hollywood movie set. The sterner facts of economics have wiped Bohemia off the map; the Romantic artist must find his home elsewhere. HORACE GREGORY.

The Truth about a Novelist

The Journal of Arnold Bennett: Volumes II and III, 1911-20 and 1921-28. New York: The Viking Press. 342 and 327 pages. Volume II, $4; Volume III, $3. Set, $11. One-volume edition, $5.

THE LATER instalments of Arnold Bennett's Journal continue to reveal the raw material of the novelist. Perhaps the most striking passages are those in which we see at work his keen sense of phenomena and his power of exact notation. The entry of November 20, 1914, records his visit to his dying mother at Burslem:

> She looked very small, especially her head in the hollows of the pillows. . . . On medicine table siphon, saucer, spoon, large soap dish, brass flower bowl (empty). The gas (very bad burner) screened by contraption of Family Bible, some wooden thing, and a newspaper. . . . Gas stove burning. Temperature barely 60°. Damp chill, penetrating my legs.

No reader of Bennett will fail to recognize these details as those of the masterly death scene of Auntie Hamps in "These Twain," which he was writing at the time. In similar fashion he went into the workings of the Savoy Hotel for the material of "Imperial Palace."

Bennett's literary judgments are generally those of sound common sense. Of "The Way of All Flesh" he says, "All this book is good. I even suspect it may be better than

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I think it is." Of "Mark Rutherford" he notes, "Very impressive and original . . . extraordinarily amateurish. The man had no notion of fiction. But a work not easily forgotten. Full of wisdom and high things." In view of Bennett's frequently repeated statement of his early submission to the French naturalists, it is surprising to find so little mention of them among the many notes of his reading. His chief enthusiasm was for Tolstoy and Balzac. To the latter, indeed, he turned occasionally for a literary cocktail. "Last week, being in need of an inspirational bucking-up, I dropped 'War and Peace' and read Balzac's 'Curé de Tours' and 'Pierrette'. . . . He made 'War and Peace' seem very tame." His progress through the latter he marks by the number of pages he passed. At the end, however, he admitted its greatness. "All that domesticity is superbly rendered, with a natural and yet ruthless veracity. . . . Terrific book. . . . And the final thrills of it *did* inspire me to a good scheme for the third 'Clayhanger.'" Later on he took to walking for inspiration, and especially to visiting churches and galleries: "I drove to the Tate Gallery and got my ideas"; or "I went out to South Kensington Museum at 11:15 to find ideas, and got them, among English pictures of a second-rate kind."

Bennett took himself seriously as a purveyor of literary goods to the public. In his interest in mass production and its rewards, he reminds one of Anthony Trollope, and if he did not, like the latter, keep to an exact schedule, he was always conscious of the number of words he turned out. Of 1912 he wrote:

> A material year, largely occupied with intestinal failure and worldly success. . . . All my five later plays have been performed this year. About 1,155 performances altogether. I received (less agents' commissions) about £16,000 during the year, which may be called success by any worldly minded author. . . . I wrote comparatively few words during the year . . . possibly 200,000 in all.

By 1926 he had raised his production to 378,000. Yet on one occasion when he had done "1,100 words before tea in less than 90 minutes and another 500 in about 30" he notes wistfully, "Trollope beat it the whole time and so did Scott." He regretted the word that did not bring its 2/6. In a spat with Lord Birkenhead he had written a letter to The Daily Mail, when he received a commission for an article. He crossed out "Sir" and "Yours truly," and charged £60 for it.

The earlier of these volumes gains interest in that it includes the war years. It was a part of Bennett's strong common sense to see the folly of the War, but he did not eschew the role of propagandist. He fired as many words in the cause as Lord French fired shells at Passchendaele. His day-by-day account of his life in the country and in London reflects the civil side of war as waged by the upper classes, with the mixture of frivolity and self-importance which he shared and yet satirized in "The Pretty Lady" to the scandal of pious patriots.

In the final volume we find Bennett in climax. He has become a great man, associating intimately with the great and recognized in public places with respect. He has developed a certain fastidiousness about people and clothes. The theatre at Nice, he complains, was "full of provincial people and Americans." The audience at a cinema had "no style or grace in them. All lower middle class or nearly so. You wondered where the people came from, so dull they were." A train journey took him through the Potteries, and the district gave him a shudder. At the funeral of Mrs. H. G. Wells he noted that only one man was in full mourning, and the "number of really A-1 people present, very small; which shows how Wells kept out of the 'great' world and how the great world is not practically interested in Wells." It was interested in Bennett, and contributed to Bennett's interest in himself. This interest gives gusto to his minute record of trivial experience, as it does to that of Denry the Audacious or Mr. Prohack.

Bennett got all there was to get out of life. He made himself a connoisseur of painting, music, the theatre, the cinema, boxing, juggling, food, drink, cigars, dancing, night clubs, clothes and conversation. When the Bishop of Liverpool asked him to write a little book on "some sort of design, order, divine origin in the world" he at once assented. No one better fitted than he to find a divine pattern in Vanity Fair!

Next to its value in throwing light on his procedure as a novelist, "The Journal of Arnold Bennett" is interesting for its panorama of the English scene. Indeed, the two strains are inseparable. Bennett was the novelist of the market place. The bustle, the business, the *remplissage*, of life were his necessary environment. To him, Flaubert's "habit of cutting himself off from the world in order to have peace" was incomprehensible. "What a mad scheme for a novelist!"

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Portrait of Futility

The Personal Memoirs of Joffre, Field Marshal of the French Army. Translated by Colonel T. Bentley Mott, D.S.M. Appendices by Colonel S. J. Lowe, D.S.O., O.B.E. New York: Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 673 pages, illustrated. $6.

AS A PICTURE of the immense futility of all war, and above all of modern war, the Memoirs of Marshall Joffre are very nearly unequaled. The novels and poems of ex-soldiers, disillusioned amateurs of war, may to an extent be discounted. Justly or not, they can be set down as the emotional reactions of civilians wrecked by the horrors of combat and years of constant personal peril. But Marshal Joffre is telling the story of a professional engineer officer and the professional triumphs of what was for him the crown of a long career, triumphs won in the presumably judicial calm of General Headquarters. His unemotional tale is not the story of a shell-shocked veteran, but the technical report of a general officer whose severest critics have always given him credit, whatever his defects, for an almost superhuman calm.

And what does this sedate, judicial narrative show us? First, confusion among the staff experts so complete that it led to a wholly wrong plan of campaign, an inadequate high-angle artillery, hopeless misjudgment of the duration of the War, and a 50-percent error in estimating the enemy's strength. Second, so much incompetence among commanders—all of them men who had devoted their lives to the study of war at the expense of the taxpayers of France—that it was necessary in the midst of hostilities to dismiss some fifty general officers. M. Messimy, the Minister of War, was not content with this. He wanted to shoot some of them. Third, enough intrigue and wire-pulling to disgrace an operatic troupe. And finally, a degree of professional ineptness among political and military leaders which, in spite of almost constant superiority in numbers, permitted victory to elude the Allies time after time—almost from the beginning of the War.

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The fatal Plan XVII which sent the main French forces away from the Belgian frontier was adopted with Marshal Joffre's knowledge and while he was Chief of Staff. The French believed that "the violation of Belgium was a likely event." Their staff had, in fact, considered and rejected the same maneuver. But they believed that the Germans would not be able to use reserve troops at the outset and would not have enough men for the strong flank army which in 1914 actually did come smashing through Belgium. Hence the error which started the French army in the wrong direction. Marshal Joffre minimized this by asserting that he always had the possibility of Belgium's invasion in the back of his mind, and that there was always the chance that the Germans would prefer to violate Swiss, rather than Belgian, neutrality. In the latter case, concentration to the northeast would have been essential.

When war broke out, revelations of incompetence broke out with it. French military theorists of high repute revealed painful inability to meet the grueling test of war. The cavalry failed almost completely, not only in combat, but in reconnaissance at a time when the open warfare and relatively inefficient air service of 1914 made it all-important. Whole cavalry divisions sent no information for days at a time and did not even report their location.

Like Foch and like the German General Staff, Joffre anticipated a short war. There were times in the early stages of the struggle when he believed that an immediate victory was possible. At one time he actually worked out armistice conditions. And he still believed that if he had been allowed to retain command he might have won early in 1917. His plan in December, 1916, just before his removal, was to attack in February, a month before the Russian revolution, when Germany still had to keep large forces on the eastern front. Nivelle, who succeeded him, waited until April when it was too late—a fact which the old Marshal, with decorously restrained glee, does not hesitate to rub in.

Although he says nothing very specific about intrigues and wire-pulling, little reading between the lines is necessary to understand what he must have endured from politicians who were also army officers, friction with the British, jealousies among his generals, and, at the end, struggles of his own exactly like those of any employee trying to hold on to his job.

In spite of these very human touches, the book is pre-eminently just and fair. Marshal Joffre frankly mingles praise and blame in his estimates of his subordinate commanders; he goes out of his way again and again to commend Foch, of whom he might quite understandably be jealous. The Memoirs are an important source of war history. The writing is clear and interesting, the translation highly competent, the documentation adequate and the maps extremely enlightening. JOHN BAKELESS.

Book Notes

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

THE ARCHES OF THE YEARS, by Halliday Sutherland. *New York: William Morrow. 300 pages. $2.75.*

There is a pleasant fireside atmosphere about these reminiscences of a famous English doctor; the stories are modest and genial, and the doctor's attitude toward his own life seems to be one of good-natured tolerance. The relation is not so much that of an author to his readers as it is that of a doctor to his patients; and like an excellent doctor, Halliday Sutherland never troubles one with his own professional experiences. Instead, he talks about whale fishing, bull fighting, traveling, life in the navy and as a student. The chapters that relate his adventures as an amateur bull fighter are extremely interesting; they are so simply written and so free of extravagant claims as to make Hemingway's approach seem blindly emotional. The observation is always keen and occasionally brilliant. But Dr. Halliday's good nature persists, rather astonishingly, through the war years, and arouses a suspicion that there is some insensitivity in his character or that an unvaried bedside cheerfulness has become second nature with him.

LOOKING BACK, by Norman Douglas. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 428 pages. $3.50.*

Norman Douglas assembled "Looking Back" by recalling the people he knew, as he drew their visiting cards from the bronze Chinese censor in which these had accumulated. The remembered faces and voices led back through an intricate life of travel and of observation. Wherever he went he investigated natural history—the wines, the geography, the amatory possibilities and, above all, the people of the place. His personal and literary estimate of D. H. Lawrence is less sentimentalized than any one is apt to read, and there are equally plain pictures of Conrad, Frank Harris, Rosebery and of others whose identity Douglas protects. The Bay of Naples, the passing power of writing to pay, a tolerant dissatisfaction with what he sees as still Christian, machine-molded youth today, cloud the light lines with a kindly melancholy. Nothing seems to have gone by Douglas but the commonplace, and from even this he extracts stories and sentences of considerable charm.

HISTORY

THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY. Volume II: From Civil War to World Power, by James Truslow Adams. *New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 457 pages. $3.50.*

Mr. Adams does not change his essential manner in this second volume of his history, but the political subject matter of the period has more continuity and the narrative is less annalistic. The military course of the Civil War is recounted with a commendable minimum of technical details, and there is a good chapter on civil happenings during the war, but the constitutional issues of the war period and reconstruction are only lightly touched. For the subsequent years the best parts of the book are those which deal with the more obvious economic changes, the growth of imperialistic ideas, the activities of Theodore Roosevelt, the "mad decade" which followed the World War and the emergence of the present business crisis. What is said about politics is interspersed, as before, with notes on literature, art, science and manners, comments upon leading political figures (the estimates of Andrew Johnson, Lincoln, Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson are particularly notable) and personal criticism or advice. The book makes little demand upon a reader's power of sustained attention, but to those who think of history in terms of incidents it will probably seem quite worth while. The illustrations outshine all other popular American histories in their profusion and appropriateness.

SCIENCE

THE NATURE OF LEARNING IN ITS RELATION TO THE LIVING SYSTEM, by George Humphrey. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, for the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method. 296 pages. $3.75.*

It is good to meet with a volume on psychology that quite frankly, but without belligerent dogmatism, accepts what the physical sciences have to offer towards an understanding of organic nature, especially as regards human behavior. Professor Humphrey's well documented and carefully reasoned analysis of the problem of learning proceeds on the intelligent assumption that "organisms may reasonably be considered as material systems so constituted that organic events may be truly subject to physico-chemical laws and yet, on the whole, and under the requisite conditions, actively tend in an astonishingly complex manner towards the conservation of the living system in question." The volume is a serious and important contribution not only to psychology from the behaviorist point of view, but to physiology, and it

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is particularly valuable for its attempt to clarify the fundamental scientific concept of "system," in both the inorganic and organic domains.

THE TIDES OF LIFE: THE ENDOCRINE GLANDS IN BODILY ADJUSTMENT, by R. G. Hoskins. *New York: W. W. Norton Company. 352 pages. $3.50.*

Here at last is a book on "your mysterious glands" that does not read like a detective story or some new form of the occult. Dr. Hoskins, of the Harvard Medical School, is a seasoned member of that small body of research biologists that includes such men as Walter B. Cannon, Dr. Abel, Sharpey-Schafer and G. W. Crile; and his readable if necessarily incomplete account of endocrinology may be recommended to the layman who is more interested in knowledge than in loose generalizations. In fifteen chapters we are told of the nature, functions and mechanism of the adrenal, thyroid, parathyroid, pituitary, male and female gonad, pineal and thymus glands. Early medical history is briefly sketched, followed by a summary of present knowledge, recent experimental work, and brief clinical accounts of the various "deficiency diseases." Altogether, a considerable body of sound information has been packed into a small space, placing Dr. Hoskins' volume on the same level of worth as Dr. Cannon's recent "Wisdom of the Body" and Jennings' "Biological Basis of Human Nature."

Fiction

THE STREET OF THE SANDALMAKERS, by Nis Petersen. *Translated from the Danish by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.*

Mr. Petersen finds in the Rome of Marcus Aurelius a problem worthy of his kaleidoscopic treatment. The battle of religions is at its height; the cults of Isis and Mithras, the Cynics and the Galileans, and many others are contending for popular acceptance. In the house of Papirius, chief of the "Curiosa," Roman secret police, the son Marcellus writes poetry, sees both sides of every question, and falls in love first with Ruth, a Jewish slave and, fourteen years later, with Caecilia, a Galilean who thinks of herself as a bride of Christ. There are curiously modern touches such as July 1, the moving day in Rome, and bankruptcies of businesses in troubled times. The Christian fanatics in the Street of the Sandalmakers remind one of our own agitators in Union Square. As a whole, however, the novel fails to equal the merits of certain parts, being somewhat rambling and inconclusive.

Contributors

J. A. Hobson, the distinguished British economist, has published a large number of volumes on economic and social subjects and has contributed numerous articles to English and American magazines.

Mary Heaton Vorse, novelist, short-story writer and journalist, who is now in Europe, recently visited the battle fields of the Illinois miners.

Harold Laski, author of several volumes on social and economic subjects, the latest being "The Foundations of Sovereignty and Other Essays," recently returned from this country to the London School of Economics after having delivered a series of lectures at Yale.

Lawrence Dennis, a lecturer and contributor to various magazines, is the author of "Is Capitalism Doomed?" which Harper's published last year.

Samuel D. Smoleff is a practising attorney in New York City.

Horace Gregory, the author of two books of poetry, "Chelsea Rooming House" and "No Retreat," is at present at work on a brief critical study of D. H. Lawrence which the Viking Press will publish this fall.

John Bakeless, a frequent contributor to magazines, is the author of "The Economic Causes of Modern War" and several other volumes.

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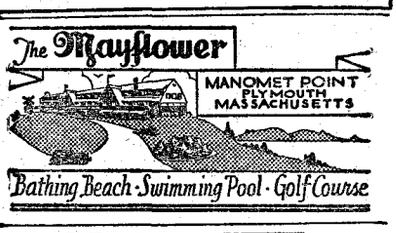

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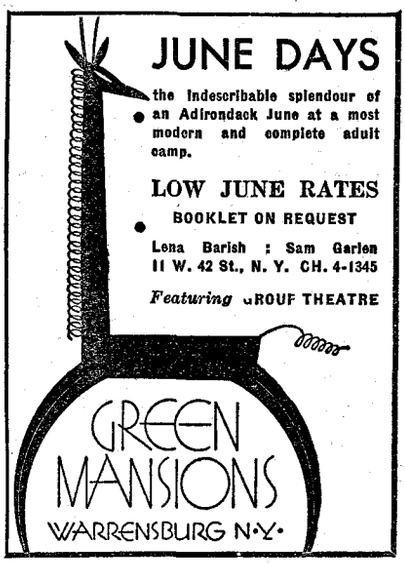
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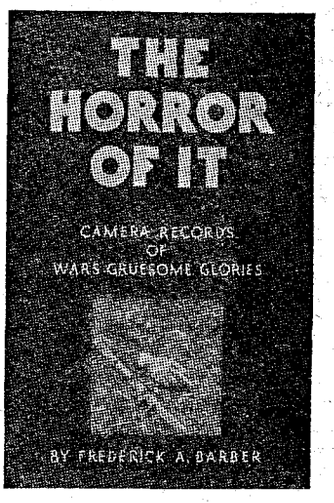

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